

EAST CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE AGES, 450-1450

Migration, Integration and Connectivity on the Southeastern Frontier of the Carolingian Empire



Edited by
Danijel Dzino, Ante Milošević
and Trpimir Vedriš



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Cover illustration: The Tetgis belt buckle from the *castrum* in Gornji Vrbljani, Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo. ©Photograph by Antun Z. Alajbeg.

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Preface

Most of the papers in this book were originally presented at the International conference “Croats and Carolingians – revisited: Fifteen years later”, as a part of the “Gunjača Days” conference series (*Gunjačini dani* 4). The conference was convened by Dr Ante Milošević, financially supported by the Croatian Ministry of Culture and organized by the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments in Split on 17 and 18 September 2015. In addition to judiciously selected papers from this conference, additional articles were commissioned from Marko Petrak and Richard Hodges, in order to give the volume a more rounded approach to the field.

Preparation of this volume was long and arduous, and the editors would like to express gratitude to several people and institutions. First, our gratitude goes to all contributors to this volume, whose remarkably cooperative approach to the process of editorial revisions immensely eased the process. English editing of the text was carried out voluntarily by two Macquarie University Ancient History students: James Woodward and Caitlin Lawler. Both of them have done outstanding work, taking time from their busy study schedules to help bring the volume up to the highest standards of academic English. Our gratitude also goes to our institutions (Macquarie University, the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments, and the University of Zagreb), and Danijel Dzino would like to acknowledge also the financial support of the Macquarie University Faculty of Arts, which facilitated his participation in the conference by awarding him a Faculty Travel Grant. Our gratitude goes to anonymous peer-referees and supporting people from Brill Academic Publishers – especially Marcella Mulder, Elisa Perotti, and Ester Lels whose help was an invaluable contribution to the preparation of this volume.

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Abbreviations

<i>AAAd</i>	<i>Antichità Altoadriatiche</i> , Aquileia
<i>AAntHungActa</i>	<i>Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i> , Budapest
<i>AnnInstArch</i>	<i>Annales Instituti Archaeologici</i> , Zagreb
AASS	Acta Sanctorum
<i>AP</i>	<i>Arheološki pregled</i> , Belgrade and Ljubljana
ARC	<i>Archaeological Review from Cambridge</i> , Cambridge
<i>ArchAd</i>	<i>Archaeologia Adriatica</i> , Zadar
ARF	Annales regni Francorum
ByzAus	Byzantina Australiensia, Sydney, Canberra, Brisbane, Melbourne
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i> , Munich
<i>CroChrPer</i>	<i>Croatica Christiana Periodica</i> , Zagreb
Conc.	Concilia
Const.	Constitutiones
Denkschriften ÖAW	Denkschriften Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Vienna
<i>Diadora</i>	<i>Diadora: Journal of Archeological Museum in Zadar</i> , Zadar
<i>DOP</i>	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i> , Cambridge Mass
ECEE	East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450, Leiden and Boston
<i>EME</i>	<i>Early Medieval Europe</i> , Harlow UK
Ep.	Epistolae
<i>GGMS</i>	<i>Godišnjak Gradskog muzeja u Sisku</i> , Sisak
HAD	Publications of Croatian Archaeological Society, Zagreb
HAG	<i>Hrvatski arheološki godišnjak</i> , Zagreb
HAM	<i>Hortus Artium Medievalium</i> , Motovun and Zagreb
HZ	<i>Historijski zbornik</i> , Zagreb
JAZU/HAZU	Jugoslavenska/Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti
<i>JÖB</i>	<i>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik</i> , Vienna
<i>MEFRA</i>	<i>Mélanges de l'École française de Rome</i> , Rome
<i>MemStorFor</i>	<i>Memorie Storiche Forogiuliesi</i> , Udine
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
MGH Diplomata	MGH Diplomata regum Germaniae ex stirpe Karolinorum
<i>Obavijesti HAD</i>	<i>Obavijesti Hrvatskog arheološkog društva</i> , Zagreb
<i>OpArh</i>	<i>Opuscula Archaeologica</i> , Zagreb
<i>PovPril</i>	<i>Povijesni prilozi</i> , Zagreb
<i>Prilozi</i>	<i>Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu</i> , Zagreb

<i>RÉB</i>	<i>Revue des études byzantines</i> , Leuven
<i>RFFZd</i>	<i>Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru. Razdio povijesnih znanosti</i> , Zadar
<i>RadoviZHP</i>	<i>Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest</i> , Zagreb
<i>Settimane</i>	<i>Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo</i> , Spoleto
<i>SHP</i>	<i>Starohrvatska prosvjeta</i> (series 3), Split – series 1 and 2 are individually marked in the references
<i>Slovo</i>	<i>Slovo. Časopis Staroslavenskog instituta u Zagrebu</i> , Zagreb
SS	Scriptores
SS rer. Germ.	Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi
<i>Starine</i>	<i>Starine Jugoslavenske/Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti</i> , Zagreb
<i>Travaux et Mémoires</i>	<i>Travaux et Mémoires de Centre de recherche d'histoire et de civilisation de Byzance</i> , Paris
<i>VAHD/VAPD</i>	<i>Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju/povijest dalmatinsku</i> , Split
<i>VAMZ</i>	<i>Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu</i> (series 3), Zagreb
<i>ZČ</i>	<i>Zgodovinski časopis</i> , Ljubljana
<i>ZRVI</i>	<i>Зборник радова Византолошког института</i> , Belgrade

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A View from the Carolingian Frontier Zone

Danijel Dzino, Ante Milošević and Trpimir Vedriš

1 Migration, Interaction and Connectivity

The creation and expansion of the Carolingian empire was a process of crucial importance for European history, as it reshaped the post-Roman world and provided the foundations for medieval western and central Europe. The establishment of the Carolingian frontier zone in central Europe and the eastern Adriatic region triggered a wave of societal and political changes: population movements, transformation of local communities and complexification of existing social networks. These changes were shaped by the different ways in which local communities reacted to Carolingian imperial power – either through resistance or integration of imperial cultural templates and architectures of power that were negotiated on a local, regional and trans-regional level. The establishment of new social networks transformed the localized, almost self-sufficient post-Roman communities which were forming in the 7th century, soon to be integrated in a much larger, interconnected and unfamiliar world. In discussing the 8th and 9th centuries in central Europe and the eastern Adriatic hinterland, it is impossible to overlook the significance of this period in the construction of the ‘historical biographies’ of modern nations located in this region. The impact of preconceptions about the past which were integrated into national narratives of research in the 19th and 20th centuries cannot be overstated. The integration of these preconceptions into national narratives presents significant challenges for the next generation of scholars, but it is also an opportunity for this current generation to reassess the existing scholarship in light of new methodologies and the most recent archaeological research to produce a more balanced understanding of the past.

The impact of the expansion of the Carolingian empire on the resultant frontier regions and the societies therein closely resembles that which occurred in other pre-industrial empires. Empires, being complex trans-ethnic and trans-regional political networks, cause changes on their fringes through expansion which reshape local power-relationships and introduce new ideological discourses. Frontier societies actively participate in this transformation by processing imperial influences and templates, changing their political and economic systems and interacting with an empire either as foes or allies.

Elite individuals and indeed the elite groups of these frontier societies exploit interaction with the imperial power by integrating themselves with imperial architectures of power to enhance social dominance over their societies. These same societies also experienced social complexification processes which impacted greatly on their identities and culture.¹ Whether the Carolingian empire was an imperial or proto-imperial formation, finished empire or unfinished imperial project, is of little significance here.² What is significant for the purposes of this volume is to recognise how this empire organised power in particular ways, maintained ideological discourses and established a social system that secured social reproduction and integration,³ all of which makes it a suitable candidate for discussion using an analytic framework for research of pre-modern empires.⁴

The expansion of Carolingian power in northern, central and southeastern Europe established a frontier zone which, rather than being a lineal division beyond the empire's influence, was an active zone of cultural change, reminiscent of Turner's well-known conception of the American frontier.⁵ The transformations of local communities in the Carolingian frontier regions were clearly caused by two factors. The first of these was imperial reorganisation of power through the establishment of new social networks centred around the imperial core, which necessarily peripheralized frontier regions. The second factor was the negotiation of this new organisation of power on a local level. While medievalists have been reluctant to adopt the Turnerian concept of the frontier, a number of important works have been written in the last few decades, especially in the context of frontiers in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages.⁶

1 The literature on empires and frontier zones is extensive, see e.g. Elton 1996; Hall 2000; Meier 2006: 78–111; Colás 2007: 47–62.

2 The structure of the Carolingian empire was simpler and less developed than other pre-industrial empires, as argued in Moreland 2001a. Innes (2000) explains at length the system established by the Carolingians, which rested upon the ability of the aristocracy to mediate between the imperial centre and local communities.

3 Moreland & van de Noort 1992.

4 See De Jong 2015 for an excellent overview of the problem and the historiography. As she points out, it was only after ca. 2000, that the scholarship started to seriously see the Carolingian realm as an empire, e.g. Innes 2000; Goldberg 2006; Garipzanov 2008; Costambeys *et al.* 2011; Gravel 2012; Latowsky 2013; etc.

5 See the recent cross-historical study of pre-modern borders, borderlands and frontiers from an archaeological perspective by Feuer 2016, who reviews the most important existing literature and clearly defines these concepts.

6 The most significant work concerning the early medieval context is certainly the collection edited by Pohl, Wood & Reimitz 2001, see also Miller 1996; Curta 2005; Pohl & Reimitz 2000; *Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae* 16 (2011), and in Carolingian context Smith 2002; Miller 1996; Lozny 2013; Majnarić 2018. Generally

This collection of essays focuses on societal transformations in the region of the eastern Adriatic and its hinterland caused by the region's positioning as a Carolingian frontier zone in the late 8th and 9th centuries, and critically evaluates its historiography. The importance of this area is multiplied by the existence of Byzantine western outposts in Ravenna, Istria and some Dalmatian cities such as Zadar. This made the Adriatic, not only a frontier zone, but also a contact zone, the very definition of Parker's 'borderland matrix'⁷ between two empires, a subject which is touched upon in the contributions of Basić and Petrak, and, in the context of southeastern Europe, by Curta.⁸ The aims of the volume are multiplicitous, but the most significant one is to enhance understanding of the Carolingian frontier zones, especially the ways local communities established and maintained social networks and integrated foreign cultural templates into their existing cultural *habitus*. This volume brings 13 essays to a wider reading audience and its goal is to fill an important gap in literature. Because of the lack of English publications on the topic, most scholars are unaware of this area of study.⁹

The present collection of essays reflects a renewed interest in the eastern Adriatic region during the Carolingian age, an interest that is also illustrated by the recent publication of the edited volume *Imperial Spheres and the Adriatic: Byzantium, the Carolingians and the Treaty of Aachen*.¹⁰ It aims to bridge the gap between the imperial centre and its periphery by exploring the ways in which the Carolingian empire affected communities on its eastern frontiers, especially those gravitating towards the Adriatic Sea. The Carolingian territorial expansion reshaped local communities, which began to negotiate cultural templates coming from the Carolingian and Byzantine imperial centres

on frontiers and the Middle Ages: Berend 1999; Janeczek 2011 and the overview of literature in Rodríguez-Picavea 2006: 276–80.

7 Parker 2006; Feuer 2016: 16–23, 48–89.

8 Shepard 2018, see also Burkhardt 2016 for southeastern Europe as inter-imperial region in the Middle Ages.

9 For example, the region of the eastern Adriatic coast is completely absent from Costambeys *et al.* 2011. The reason for this 'white hole' be – as Wickham (2005: 5) pointed out is likely to be the unavailability of literature in main world languages and fragmentation of national historiographies – see also Le Goff 1999. For more on this topic see Dzino 2014b: 91–92 and Budak and Dzino in this volume.

10 Ančić *et al.* 2018. Similar subject matter was canvassed in the conference "Adriatic Connections: The Adriatic as a Threshold to Byzantium (ca. 600–1453)", organized by the British School at Rome in 2015, which will hopefully result in important contribution in the forthcoming volume edited by J. Herrin and C. Wickham. The conference on Croatian archaeology and the Treaty of Aachen from 812 (*Hrvatska arheologija i Aachenski mir*) from 2012 (volume hopefully forthcoming sometimes in the future) unfortunately did not attempt to engage in topics that transgress local significance.

alongside existing traditions to produce unique and novel cultural interfaces.¹¹ A consequence of this was the creation of new methods of power organisation and new ways to express power in local settings. This process of transformation is witnessed, not so much through the written sources, as through the vast body of archaeological material from excavations in the later 20th century. It is now possible to connect the establishment of early medieval political entities in early medieval Dalmatia, Pannonia and Istria to the larger process of social transformations and migratory movements on the Carolingian frontiers as argued in the contributions of Ančić and Milošević. This volume will also explore the complexity of social transformations occurring in the imperial frontier zone, and how they have been perceived in contemporary scholarship. A number of factors contributed to these transformations: the migration of groups after the destruction of the Avar Qaganate, the integration of local communities within cultural and political templates developed within the Carolingian imperial structure, and the development of complex social networks in the imperial periphery.

The first group of essays explores 'how we know what we know' about the early medieval eastern Adriatic and its hinterland – exploring and critiquing the existing narratives in local scholarship and macro-histories of the period. The focal point will be a critical reassessment of the contribution of the exhibition "Croats and Carolingians", held in 2000 and 2001 in Split, to a major paradigm shift in local research, and increasing acknowledgement of the Carolingian role in the formation of early medieval local polities. The second group of essays discusses the impact of the Empire on migrations and population movements of Slavophone groups in the late 8th/early 9th centuries, which were caused by the destruction of the Avar Qaganate and Carolingian expansion in central Europe. Previous scholarship either disregarded these migrations or embedded them within existing local national narratives as a part of national 'biographies'. The essays in this volume illustrate how these migrations were a complex combination of small-scale population movements and cultural change amongst local communities. The debate on migrations (especially the migration of the Croats) is a highly contested area, which this volume in no way attempts to resolve or explain conclusively, and the papers of Bilogrivić, Ančić and Milošević reflect this diversity of approaches in attempts to explain change in the material culture of early medieval Dalmatia.

The third group of essays contributes to a better understanding of the ways in which local communities on the eastern Adriatic coast integrated within

11 Dzino 2010: 175–210 for Dalmatia, and in more general context of southeastern Carolingian frontier – Majnarić 2018.

new cultural and political templates, which were developed with the foundation of the Carolingian empire. The papers in the final part aim to advance the understanding of the different networks which were forming at this time between local communities but also extending towards eastern Europe, Italy, as well as the Carolingian and Byzantine empires.

2 The Exhibition “Croats and Carolingians” and its Impact

A significant part of this volume is framed around reassessment of the exhibition “Croats and Carolingians” held in the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments in Split in 2000/2001 and the accompanying 2-volume catalogue published in 2000. The significance of this exhibition was that, in presenting a significant volume of Carolingian finds, it attempted to break down the existing historical narratives connected with only the significance of Byzantium, and reorientate research on the early medieval eastern Adriatic towards the Carolingian world. As a consequence, it revealed that the early medieval eastern Adriatic, its hinterland as well as the Pannonian plains were part of an imperial frontier-society, which is a major focus of this collection.

In order to mark the 1200th anniversary of Charlemagne's coronation, but also to emphasize the modern need of an alliance of European nations at the same time, a large international project entitled “Charlemagne – The Making of Europe at the dawn of the new millennium”, consisting of a cycle of exhibitions was developed. The problem of the Carolingian period is certainly a pan-European topic, which is why the cycle of exhibitions within this project was sponsored by the European Commission's “Raphael Program”. Indeed, Charlemagne was called the ‘Father of Europe’ already by his contemporaries, because it was then when the foundations of a common European civilisation were laid. The influences of creative and intellectual forces, spread by the greatest European minds at the court of Charlemagne, can be felt even today. This common cultural heritage was even more directly manifested through the exchange and equalization of artistic works and archaeological finds in all exhibitions within the scope of the project. Thus, the exhibition in Paderborn (23 July to 1 November 1999), under the name “799: Art and culture in the Carolingian Age: Pope Leo III in Paderborn”, presented the meeting between the Frankish King and the Pope in Paderborn in 799. The exhibition in Barcelona (16 December to 27 February 2000), entitled “Catalonia in the Carolingian Age”, synthesized the problems of Carolingian heritage of the region. In the exhibition that took place in Brescia (18 June to 19 November 2000), under the name “The Future of the Lombards, Italy and the Construction

of Charlemagne's Europe", the emphasis was on the Lombard culture as a component of Carolingian art. The exhibition "Croats and Carolingians" in Split (20 December 2000 to 31 May 2001) presented the Principality of Dalmatia/Croatia at that time with its surrounding Sclaviniae as a peripheral region where both Carolingian and Byzantine influences are evident. In the summer of 2001, the city of York organised the final exhibition from this cycle, entitled "Alcuin and Charlemagne – the Golden Age of York" dedicated to Alcuin, a distinguished teacher and advisor at the court of Charlemagne.¹² The exhibition in Split was then transported almost in its entirety to Brescia, to the Museo della città – Santa Giulia (9 September 2001 to 6 January 2002). The existing catalogue was translated into Italian and published by the publishing house Skira. The exhibition in Brescia served also as an occasion to organize the international scientific conference: "L'Adriatico dalla tarda antichità all'età carolingia", which resulted in the edited volume of the same name.¹³

The exhibition "Croats and Carolingians" in this project, from almost two decades ago, was of paramount importance. Research conducted in the last decades of the 20th century significantly changed the perception of the Carolingian Age in the Adriatic hinterland and southern part of the Pannonian plains, with the result that the time was ripe not only for re-examining the historical narratives but also presenting those locally published finds to a wider audience. The exhibition did not encompass the entire early medieval period, but rather focussed exclusively on the Carolingian Age. In the eastern Adriatic region, this period coincides with the possible (but still debated) arrival of the Croats in ca. 800 and the formation of the Dalmatian, later Croatian Principality during the 9th century. The fate of these areas, which had obviously played an important role in the processes of cultural and ethnic transformation in this area was thus closely connected to the Carolingians as its frontier zone.

The importance of the notion of the 'Croatian return to Europe' cannot be neglected as one of the possible 'background agendas' of the exhibition, as it was quite common in the public discourse in Croatia in the 1990s. Two processes made possible the revival of the public stress on Croatia's belonging to the West: the collapse of Communism in 1990 and the Croatian secession from the disintegrating Yugoslavia. These two entangled processes practically led to the removal of the ideological umbrella of the totalitarian

12 Stiegmann & Wemhoff 1999a (Paderborn); Camps 1999 (Barcelona); Bertelli & Brogiolo 2000 (Brescia); Milošević 2000a (Split); Garrison *et al.* 2001 (York).

13 Brogiolo & Delogu 2005.

Communist regime established after the Second World War, and, perhaps more significantly, the cutting of political bonds with other Yugoslav republics, primarily Serbia. However one interprets it today, and whatever theoretical approach one takes, the insider participants in these events felt this to be an historical moment. On the institutional level, this feeling of living at the watershed of history inspired a whole series of publications of varying quality which had different meanings for different audiences.¹⁴

In order to grasp the essence of the paradigm shift promoted by the “Croats and Carolingians”, one needs to go back to the ‘historiographic roots’ of the project, rather than just link it with the historical context of national awakening in Croatia during the 1990s. This is not to say that it is unnecessary to review the history of Croatian historiography, but rather to stress the importance of a single paper which played perhaps the most crucial role in this paradigm shift – at least in the fields of history and archaeology. This new historiographic paradigm was in part rooted in the deconstruction of the main source for the history of the eastern Adriatic and its hinterland in the 7th and 8th centuries – the treaty *De Administrando Imperio* (*DAI*). The *DAI* has been the sole framework for explaining the central questions of ‘who, when and how’ concerning the earliest Croatian state, but also a history of other South Slavic nations. Once this account has been discarded as the single reliable piece of evidence – something Croatian scholars did not dare to do in order not to lose the field of research – the way had been opened for new interpretations. The study of the *DAI* had a long and fruitful tradition in the local historiography and it was perhaps inevitable that its deconstruction started in this framework. An important step in this direction, and one of the central inspirations for the new paradigm, was a paper by law historian Lujo Margetić published in 1977 in which he questioned the chronology of the Croatian migration offered by the *DAI*.¹⁵ Margetić himself later disowned this interpretation and the idea lay dormant for some time.¹⁶

Originally treated with suspicion, the idea started to become more accepted among the next generation of scholars towards the end of the

14 For a critical evaluation of the influence of this context on historiography (by the medievalists) see Ančić 2008a; 2008b; Budak 2004; 2009; 2011.

15 Margetić 1977. The editor of the journal felt the need to cover this interpretation, which was at that time highly controversial, by adding another paper by M. Suić (1977), renovated scholar of Dalmatian antiquity, offering something like a ‘safety-pin’ with Suić’s criticism of Margetić. Margetić’s thesis is discussed by Dzino, Bilogrivić, Ančić and Budak in this volume.

16 Margetić 1985; 2001: 9–37.

1980s.¹⁷ Margetić's basic idea was that the Croats – whose collective memory was supposedly preserved in the late 9th-century oral tradition and 'textually fixed' by the author of the 30th chapter of the *DAI* – moved into Dalmatia only at the end of the 8th century. In terms of methodology, there was nothing revolutionary in this re-interpretation. Also, the idea that the Croats moved separately from other Slavs – in the context of a great migration of the 7th century – had as its predecessors a number of authors who explained Croatian separation by the notion of 'two migration waves'. What was revolutionary was his de-construction of the once almost sacrosanct arrival narrative of the *DAI*. The interpretation itself, at this stage, can hardly be described as nationalistic wishful thinking. In fact, the very idea of large-scale 'late migration' nowadays sounds somewhat anachronistic and its epistemological foundations fragile. Yet, in 1977, it sounded fairly iconoclastic. The vision proposed by Margetić 'erases two centuries of national history', and goes against a very strong and widespread ecclesiastical tradition stressing the 'thirteen centuries of Christianity among the Croats'.¹⁸ The proposed interpretation thus threatened to 'deprive' Croats not only of two hundred years of history but also of the 'title' of the oldest Christian Slavic nation – hardly a nationalistic enterprise.

Be that as it may, the idea, incumbent for almost a decade, fell on fertile soil in not only a single discipline. The 1990s witnessed a series of significant projects that can be read as predecessors of "Croats and Carolingians". One of the first such large-scale projects was a monumental series launched by the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in 1991, given the telling name "Croatia and Europe". Meant to provide an overview of Croatian scholarship, this series presented the cultural history of Croatia. The central aim of the first volume (*Croatia in the Early Middle Ages*) is clearly illustrated by the following sentence: "In these pages the authors, all Croats, demonstrated in an erudite, intelligent and brilliant way, that Croatia is both a culturally distinct and yet profoundly Western European component of the rich ensemble which constitutes Europe ...".¹⁹ This explicit statement of Jacques Le Goff addressed precisely the two critical issues. The first was an attempt by the intellectual elite

17 It would be important to mention here the works of Željko Rapanić (1980; 1987; 1995), who from archaeological perspective contributed in many ways to the ideas presented in the "Croats and Carolingians" and even participated in the project (Rapanić 2000).

18 According to this narrative the first contacts between Croats and the Holy See in the pontificate of pope John IV (640–642) were followed by their baptism and quickly following agreement with pope Agatho (678–681). The interpretation of the coincidence of the material found in the *DAI*, *Liber Pontificalis* and the letter of pope Agatho resulted in the conclusion that the "Croats were the first among the Slavs to have accepted the Cross", Draganović & Buturac 1944: 9–12.

19 Le Goff 1999. The volume was originally published in 1991, and an English edition, cited here, in 1999.

of the nation caught in war to prove its belonging to ‘civilized’ Western Europe. The other was a frustration – common among Croatian scholars – that Croatia was absent from scholarship on early medieval Europe.²⁰ This in fact meant that international audiences were deprived of up-to-date results of the local scholarship. It is no surprise that the words of J. Le Goff were read as pleasant, although somehow expected, approval and encouragement. Moreover, he also claimed that the volume “will bring blushes to many English-speaking readers, not least myself, on account of their ignorance.”²¹

Besides the above mentioned “Croatia and Europe” project, archaeologists and art historians can boast of organizing conferences and exhibitions with significant names such as “Creation of the first Croatian cultural landscape” or “From Nin to Knin”.²² At the same time, an important impetus – not directly connected with the previous ones – was the foundation of the International Center for Research of Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages in 1993, which started gathering scholars on yearly conferences in Motovun and publishing their proceedings in the form of the glossy periodical *Hortus Artium Medievalium*. The Motovun conferences were obviously a melting-pot for many of the ideas that later surfaced in the “Croats and Carolingians”.²³ The actors consisted of a group of archaeologists, art historians and historians at the time, as Dzino notes in this volume, in their prime age as far as creation of new scholarly paradigms is concerned. The reference to a group gathered around *Hortus* does not mean that they were the only ones anticipating some of the conclusions that were to appear. The exception is for example V. Sokol, who also consistently argued in favour of late 8th/early 9th century Croat migrations, from an archaeological perspective.²⁴

Analysis of the exhibition, its significance and impact on later scholarship is encountered frequently in this collection, in particular in the contributions of Dzino, Bilogrivić and Budak. It is necessary to examine how the new knowledge and findings can be used in the interpretation of the events at that time in the eastern Adriatic region. It also seems an opportune moment to ask once again whether and to what extent the Split exhibition represented a break from previous perceptions of the early Middle Ages in Croatian historiography. The “Croats and Carolingians” – whatever we think about it today – was a landmark conference which opened new horizons of research, impacting the way the scholarship conceives of migration, integration and connectivity.

20 Ivančević 1999: 417.

21 Le Goff 1999.

22 Jurković & Lukšić 1996; Jurković 1992b.

23 Particularly the volumes 3 (1997) and 4 (1998) of the *Hortus Artium Medievalium*.

24 Sokol 1999; 2006; 2016.

3 Contributions

3.1 *Historiography*

The section on the historiography begins with Danijel Dzino's contribution, which positions the exhibition "Croats and Carolingians" in the context of local historical narratives of the Middle Ages. As he argues, the exhibition was a decisive break with the existing historical narrative. These narratives were shaped in the 19th century, when local scholars developed 'historical biographies' of the Southern Slavs, as part of the wider political discourse of the time. After 1945, the key player in the histories of the Southern Slavs was Byzantium, against which they could be shown to have the same origin, a common history, and a shared destiny fulfilled at the moment the Southern Slavic state, Yugoslavia, came into being. Apart from breaking up the existing narratives, the exhibition "Croats and Carolingians", in Dzino's view, also reflected new identity-discourses in an independent Croatia, which developed after the death of Yugoslavia. Neven Budak revisits the question of impetus for cultural change in the eastern Adriatic and its hinterland during the 9th century, asking, whether the terms 'Carolingian' or 'Lombard Renaissance' used in historiography are reflections of the cultural contact and outside influences, or incentives that began locally. Twenty years ago research in the field of art history and epigraphy supported by historical and archaeological studies led to the thesis that one may speak of a Carolingian 'Renaissance' in this area. Almost at the same time a thesis was presented on the Liutprand (Lombard) 'Renaissance' that preceded the Carolingian one by about half a century. At this time the 7th and 8th century were still seen as the 'dark centuries' in the area under consideration, in which all economic and cultural activities had ceased in a petrified society reduced to number of small islands of Byzantine urban life, as well as undefined Slavic local communities. However, as Budak points out, there have been new insight into this period which justify reconsideration of this problem and examining local communities as another driving factor for the changes which happened in the 9th century.

3.2 *Migration*

The Croat migrations remain a hotly disputed point in the historiography, which is well demonstrated by the contributions in this volume. Mladen Ančić returns to the topic he explored in the "Croats and Carolingians" catalogue, published in 2000. His chapter reviews some recent interpretations of early Croat history and migrations in the Anglophone scholarship, showing ongoing problems in the dialogue between the local and 'global' scholarship. The chapter restates the opinion that those migrations were not of the order

and importance to deserve mention in the few contemporaneous texts produced in the Carolingian political centre. Ančić points to changes in material culture in Dalmatia characterized by the massive presence of Carolingian objects, concluding that the most convincing explanation is found in the sudden emergence of small warrior elite groups that settled in the region between the Danube and the Adriatic. Similar to Ančić, Ante Milošević argues in favour of the Croat migration as an historical event occurring in the late 8th/early 9th century. His chapter focuses on the appearance of artefacts representative of the Germanic animal style in the Adriatic hinterland. Milošević explains those artefacts as important symbols that displayed identity amongst the elites formed in recently established frontier societies on the eastern borders of the Carolingian empire.²⁵ In his opinion they bear witness to a short-lived and fluid frontier zone characterized by the establishment of new social networks, social mobility and demographic change brought by small warrior elite groups entering the Adriatic hinterland from northern Europe.

In contrast to Ančić and Milošević, Goran Bilogrivić challenges the idea of Croatian settlement in early medieval Dalmatia as Carolingian war-allies and vassals, which was one of the significant outcomes of the exhibition “Croats and Carolingians”. Some archaeological finds, discovered in recent years, try to blend into such depictions as new and firm evidence for the colonization of Croats under Carolingian leadership at the turn of the 9th century. At the same time, the unyielding general discussion on ethnogenesis and early medieval ethnic identities at the global level shifted its main focus from solely migration issues to other problems, such as the use of material culture and narratives concerning its origin in the creation and communication of identities, legitimacy of power and presentation of ancient traditions. In this light, Bilogrivić raises the question of whether grave finds from the turn of the 9th century really point to the arrival of a new population or whether a continuity of burials exists, asking if the artefacts of Carolingian provenance are the consequence of migration, trade or perhaps gifts.

3.3 *Integration*

Peter Štih argues that the integration of the eastern Alpine Slavs into the Carolingian imperial networks had started already before the mid-8th century when the Bavarians subdued the Carantanians. Christianity and the Church

25 Tornow Interaction Sphere – multi-agent social organization in north-central European plains, the most northern parts of the Carolingian frontier zone (Lozny 2013), was undoubtedly part of the same frontier society spreading from the Baltic to Adriatic in late 8th and 9th century.

in general played a central role in overcoming the barriers which divided different population groups within the Carolingian empire. Conversion to Christianity was the prerequisite for integration of the Slavic social elite into the ranks of the Frankish-Bavarian nobility and their political survival. Štih points out that marriages between members of the Slavic and Frankish or Bavarian nobility indicate that there were certain groups among the Slavs which the Franks and Bavarians regarded as equals. In this and similar ways a new social elite in southeastern Bavaria was formed, which acted integratively, but was also in the interest of the members of the reigning Carolingian dynasty due to the fact that it strengthened their power and stabilised the social conditions within their (*sub*)*regna*.

Miljenko Jurković's contribution looks into early medieval Istria and its integration into the Carolingian realm.²⁶ Until the 1990s, early medieval Istria was perceived as 'Byzantine' by historians, art historians, and archaeologists. Large-scale archaeological surveys, excavations and comparative analyses were undertaken at the beginning of the 1990s, and instead of a Byzantine Istria, they showed a Carolingian Istria in the early Middle Ages. Further research in the last fifteen years was concentrated on a few important problems – the settlements and the transfer of forms and functions. Comparative analyses have shown similar patterns of urban development of different types of settlements developing as a result of those integrative processes. Jurković also explores the typology of early medieval churches in Istria. Looking into the typology of the churches, the chapter asks whether the typology could have been transferred even earlier, during the possible Lombard involvement in Istria after the fall of the Exarchate of Ravenna in 751.

Krešimir Filipec's chapter focuses on what he calls 'Lower' Pannonia in the Carolingian period.²⁷ In the last fifteen years, major progress has been made in the research of Carolingian-age southern/south-western parts of the Carpathian basin, particularly due to recent protective works on infrastructural installations. The archaeological record shows that the Avar-Frankish war in the late 8th century caused a demographic collapse in this area, but also that life was soon reinstated. Comparative material evidence provided by recent archaeological excavations shows very clearly that the Pannonian elites quickly integrated into the new imperial templates of power, in particular by accepting Carolingian Christianity.

26 See also recently Štih 2018.

27 Use of the terms 'Upper' and 'Lower' Pannonia is very problematic in medieval context – Takács 2018: 225–27.

3.4 *Networks*

The expansion of the Carolingian empire in the wider Adriatic area, created a unique contact zone with the Byzantines who ruled their overseas outposts in Istria and Dalmatia throughout the Dalmatian Dark Ages. Ivan Basić looks into networks of ideas exchange in the frontier zone between the Carolingian and Byzantine empire through the work of Gottschalk (Godescalc) of Orbais. Within the context of his theory of predestination, his works contain valuable information on Dalmatia in the time of the Croat *dux* Trpimir, evidently picked up during his stay there. Basić argues that the penetration of Byzantine diplomatic formulas into vernacular usage points to relatively regular administrative contacts between Carolingian Venice, Dalmatia and Istria and the Byzantine metropolis, via official documents during the first half of the 9th century. Marko Petrak discusses traces of the *Nomocanon of St Methodius* in the 12th century *Chronicle of Presbyter Docleas*. By arguing that the *Nomocanon* existed, he discusses the problem of mutual relations between this oldest Slavonic adaptation of the Byzantine legal culture and the Western normative models in medieval Croatia as a Byzantine-Carolingian contact zone developing in the 9th century.

Nikola Jakšić discusses the transfer of the cults of saints in early medieval Dalmatia, as a part of active Carolingian Adriatic politics, and the trans-Adriatic networks of contact. This chapter argues that the entire set of local saints in Zadar, especially two of its patron saints SS Chrysogonus and Anastasia, has its origin in the area of Friuli, where the veneration of all those saints in the Early Christian period is attested. Their implementation into Zadar's ambience, in Jakšić's opinion, took place only in the 9th century, and not earlier as the tradition and earlier scholarship would like us to believe.

Florin Curta's chapter takes a fresh look at the first churches established in medieval Croatia under Carolingian influence, as well as in Greece and Bulgaria under Byzantine influence. Because scholarly attention has been paid to architecture or chronology, a comparative perspective on the relation between the building and the first burials inside or in the immediate vicinity of the church is still missing. Particularly interesting in this respect is the absence or presence of child burials next to the walls of the church, the so-called 'eaves drip' phenomenon. The contribution of Richard Hodges carries further the argument about establishment of social networks in the Carolingian frontier zone, by looking on the other side of the Adriatic. He begins his chapter by examining the question of how prestige goods exchange – which played such a major part in the genesis of early Carolingian commerce-networks in the North Sea and Baltic Sea – led to the economic evolution of central southern Italy. The phased archaeology of the Carolingian-supported monastery of San

Vincenzo al Volturno is reviewed, before examining the part played in this narrative by prestige goods – marine fish and material goods – in sustaining the evolution of the monastery. The essay ends by considering the broader issue of the transition from gift-giving to market-based economies in the course of the Carolingian era.

PART 1

Historiography



From Byzantium to the West: “Croats and Carolingians” as a Paradigm-Change in the Research of Early Medieval Dalmatia

Danijel Dzino

1 Introduction

The “Croats and Carolingians” exhibition organized by the Museum of Croatian National Monuments in 2000/2001 in Split, can be interpreted in several different ways almost two decades later. On the one hand, it was a product of historical circumstances. In 1991 Croatia became an independent country, separating from the disintegrating Yugoslav political construct. The nature of such an event meant that there was an immediate need to create and describe new social realities and reassess the ways the past had been interpreted and understood. After the War for Independence ended, in the late 1990s, Croatia’s only clearly defined foreign policy aim was to become distanced from the political entity it had just left and join the EU, making a clean break with the past, politically, economically and culturally.¹ In line with such a policy of cultural separation from the constructed Yugoslav heritage, it was necessary to reposition Croatia’s past within western European historical narratives on a discursive level. The large European project: “Charlemagne: The making of Europe” was an excellent opportunity for the repositioning of European historical narratives on a wider scale, not unlike the famous “Transformation of the Roman World”, so the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments readily embraced the project. The exhibitions were held in Paderborn (1999), Barcelona (1999/2000), Brescia, Split (2000/2001) and York (2001).² However, while creating new narratives of the past and repositioning the existing ones – in similar manner to the way in which the “Transformation of the Roman World” project was, in the words of Ian Wood: “a reflection of the centrifugal forces in Europe

1 Pauković 2016.

2 Stiegmann & Wemhoff 1999a (Paderborn); Camps 1999 (Barcelona); Bertelli & Brogiolo 2000 (Brescia); Milošević 2000a and Italian translation Bertelli *et al.* 2001 (Split); Garrison *et al.* 2001 (York). See also the introduction of this volume.

which currently balance the centripetal drive towards European unity”,³ this exhibition made tectonic changes within the ‘local’ narratives of the early Middle Ages. For reasons of clarity, this paper will focus on post-Roman and early medieval Dalmatia (in the sense of the Roman province), although the “Croats and Carolingians” project covered a much wider area, which included Istria and Pannonia. The term ‘local’ historiography in this paper mostly relates to Croatian historiography and archaeology. However, it is also very important to acknowledge the significant interest of Serbian scholars in this topic, as will be discussed.

The contributions to the two volumes of *Croats and Carolingians* (Vol. 1: *Discussions and Sources*, and Vol. 2: *The Catalogue*) utilized a wide variety of material objects and the results of archaeological excavations from the later 20th century to develop a robust argument for introducing a change of paradigm to views on the early Middle Ages of post-Roman and early medieval Dalmatia, Istria and Pannonia. In short, a new historical narrative coming from the exhibition catalogue firmly established the relationship between the appearance of early medieval political entities in Dalmatia and social transformations on the Carolingian frontiers. The weight of the archaeological evidence easily superseded previously dominant views that early medieval Dalmatia was heavily influenced by the Byzantine cultural circle through Byzantine-ruled Dalmatian cities.⁴ This new narrative also supported the idea that the settlement of the Croats as an elite warrior group occurred in the late 8th/early 9th century, rather than during the 7th century Slav migrations.

Why was this change of paradigm so significant in ‘local’ interpretative contexts? Similar to most of the eastern European academic world, research on Croatia’s past is traditionally governed by the forces of scholarly authority and tradition.⁵ Scholarly fluidity was severely reduced – the transfer of ideas between different universities is minimized as teaching jobs are given to students from the same departments, usually hand-picked by the professors, as their successors. The shift from a Communist to Post-Communist phase

3 Wood 1999: 72.

4 Which was the intention of the organizers, as demonstrated in the daily press, Benić 1999; 2000a; 2000b.

5 To illustrate this statement, it is sufficient to mention how Nada Klaić, leading Croatian medievalist in the Communist era, wrote disappointedly in the introduction to the second edition of her book *History of the Croats in the Early Middle Ages* published in 1975 – four years after the first edition (Klaić 1971) – that the first edition did not cause any scholarly debate. Cf. Basić 2014: 140–41 n.8 – critical assessments of Nada Klaić’s work during her life almost did not exist.

introduced some changes, but the system essentially remained the same as it had been prior to the fall of Communism during this time.⁶ Although it would be of some interest to conduct a thorough study of university syllabi from Croatian universities, for our present purposes I will limit myself to a brief statement that the literature used in teaching medieval archaeology at two of the country's major institutions – the Universities of Zagreb and Zadar – leaves them a long way behind, the teaching of medieval history at those universities where more recent and relevant literature, written in several languages, is used. Units within the Discipline of General and National Medieval Archaeology at the University of Zagreb (part of the Department of Archaeology) currently (2018) list as compulsory literature in the graduate unit 'Medieval archaeology and history' the work of Nada Klaić (1971), and as recommended literature a volume by Natko Nodilo published in 1898!⁷ The undergraduate units in the Department of Archaeology at the University of Zadar dealing with this period offer more contemporary literature (including the *Croats and Carolingians* volumes) but cannot avoid including Ferdo Šišić's book originally published in 1925 as compulsory literature, along with the works of Ljubo Karaman from the 1930s and 1940s, in a unit called 'National (i.e. Croatian medieval) archaeology'.⁸

Croatian historiography and archaeology of the early Middle Ages is a very important field of study. It is of crucial importance for the Croatian 'national biography', the essential part of the discourse on Croatian nationhood, because it 'explains' the origins of the Croats and traces the beginnings of 'Croatian statehood' through a medieval Croat polity.⁹ This focus on 'national history', resulted in no other sub-branches of research into the medieval period being developed in Croatia on an institutional level, such as for example Byzantine studies.¹⁰ Thus, it is not surprising that early medieval history and archaeology remains regarded in Croatian curricula as 'national history/archaeology'. This position in discourse on Croatian nationhood makes interpretation of the period a very sensitive matter and throughout the 20th century there

6 Excellent analysis of the academic system in Poland, Czech Republic, Bulgaria and Romania can be found in Dobbins 2011.

7 The information is from February 2018. Current reconstruction of the Departmental web-pages (August 2018) does not allow access to this information.

8 http://www.unizd.hr/Portals/2/doc/Silabusi/Silabus_Nacionalna_arheologija.pdf last access 13/8/2018.

9 Ančić 2008a: 32–51; 2014a; Dzino 2010: 16–31. Unsurprisingly, 'Croat principalities' (unheard of in historical sources) from the 7th century, and the medieval Croat kingdom are mentioned in the *Preamble to the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia* as predecessors of modern-day Croatia.

10 Basić & Gračanin 2016, esp. 462–67.

was a constant need to control the discourse and connect it with prevalent ideological attitudes in the description of social realities – Communist and post-Communist. Some authors, such as Budak, emphasize positive aspects of historiography from the Communist era that did not succumb to pressure to work within the methodological paradigms established by Marxism-Leninism. He rightly points out that Croatian historiography worked in isolation from non-Yugoslav scholarship from 1945 to 1991, which caused a lack of interest in regional histories and focus on the nation as the historical unit of analysis.¹¹ While Budak is correct in regards to methodology, the things begin to appear more complex when Croatian academia is analysed through people and academic social networks, rather than their published work. Recent in-depth analysis of Croatian historiography, academic institutions and the personal relationships of important scholars from 1945 to 1960 by Najbar-Agičić shows that the impact of the prevailing ideology and political elites should not be underestimated.¹² The study of Najbar-Agičić does not extend beyond 1960, but it should be assumed that the academic system that supported a closed circulation of ideas continued to exist as the gatekeeper of ideological discourse when the generation educated between 1945 and 1960 took their academic posts.¹³

So, what was that ideological discourse? While Marxism was important in Yugoslav state ideology, it was not necessarily a priority, as the emphasis was instead on ‘brotherhood-and-unity’ (*bratstvo-jedinstvo*) – the idea that South Slav nations were different but ‘brotherly’ i.e. akin nations in their origins and history. The Yugoslav state was an entirely new political creation, which came into existence in 1918 because of changed global political circumstances but mostly through foreign agency.¹⁴ For that reason, there was a need to justify its existence by using the past, whitewash the conflicts in which the South Slavs participated on opposing sides, and emphasize commonalities and common history. The period just after the establishment of Communist-ruled federal Yugoslavia

11 Budak 2004: 128–31; 2009. Indeed, Marxism was very much absent from archaeology in Communist Yugoslavia as well, Novaković 2014: 241–44 (in English – Novaković 2011: 442–44), and even in most of the Communist countries, Curta 2009b. In Curta’s opinion (2009b: 212) dialectical materialism did not offer a viable alternative to the historical narratives which were the primary guide of archaeologists. However, general outlook showing centralized decision-making, control of research, historicism, and other research-agenda present in archaeology of Communist archaeologies (to which should be added former Yugoslavia) are clearly visible – Lozny 2016.

12 Najbar-Agičić 2013.

13 E.g. the polemics between Nada Klaić and Croatian emigrée historian Dominik Mandić, taking place after 1960 – Ančić 2014a; Vedriš 2014a: 936–44.

14 See enlightening discussion of Drapac 2010: 22–62.

was notorious for direct involvement of the new ruling elite in control of the discourse on the past. Josip Broz, the unquestioned ‘beloved’ leader of Yugoslav communists at the time, in his speech at a celebration of the 80th anniversary of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb in 1947 states unequivocally that ‘brotherhood-and-unity’ must be the first focus of historians.¹⁵ Very soon after this speech, Milovan Đilas, a communist zealot later turning into a high-profile dissident, who was in charge of the State propaganda agency at the time (*Agitprop*) strongly implied in a programmatic article published in the Party-journal *Communist* that research into a common ‘Yugoslav’ history was an ‘educational subject’, which needed to be fitted within current ideological templates.¹⁶ There were similar programmatic approaches to archaeology, as shown in the conclusions of the first meeting of Yugoslav archaeologists in 1950 in Niška Banja, which placed the past of ‘Yugoslav’ nations and prehistoric ethnic groups as the “research focus of Yugoslav archaeologists”.¹⁷

While not as obvious or explicit as Đilas might have wished, there were subtle attempts to ‘Yugoslavize’ prehistory and history after 1945, using the newly-developed ‘brotherhood-and-unity’ ideology of different but akin nations which reflected the contours of Yugoslav federation in the past.¹⁸ The ‘Yugoslavizing’ of prehistory was carried out through the already existing discourse on prehistoric ‘Illyrians’, but its significance was diminished by default because South Slav nations traced their origins from the early medieval period, not antiquity or prehistory.¹⁹ So, it was the Middle Ages instead which became the crucial period in the historical narratives of so-called ‘Yugoslav’ nations. A good illustration of this zeitgeist is the first volume of the multi-authored *History of Yugoslav Nations* published in 1953, in which ruling authorities on occasion directly intervened in the interpretation of history. This volume shows the overwhelming importance of medieval history over earlier periods in the historiography of the region. It devotes only 61 pages to prehistory and antiquity leading up to the 6th–7th century Slav migrations, with the period up to ca. 1500 taking up the rest of

15 Anonymous 1949: 71–72, 74, cf. Najbar-Agičić 2013: 228–29.

16 Đilas 1949 (republished the same year as a mini-book with the changes that reflected the subsequent split between the Yugoslav and Soviet leadership), see Haug 2012: 115–25. The article of Đilas was abstracted and transmitted to the community of historians by Jaroslav Šidak (1949), one of leading figures in Croatian historiography – Najbar-Agičić 2013: 307–13; Ančić 2014a: 853–58.

17 Korošec 1950; Novaković 2014: 229–31, 237. On ‘brotherhood-and-unity’ in Yugoslav archaeology after 1945 see Novaković 2014: 236–40 (in English 2011: 441–42).

18 The emphasis of research on archaeology of ethnicities was indeed important aspect of what Lozny (2016: 16–20) defines as ‘Communist archaeology’.

19 Dzino 2014c: 16–19; Novaković 2014: 238–39.

the book – over 800 remaining pages.²⁰ In archaeological context, the most obvious attempt to ‘Yugoslavize’ medieval past was the overview of South Slav material culture in early Middle Ages published in 1950 by the Serbian archaeologists Milutin Garašanin and Jovan Kovačević, which was strongly criticised by the Croatian scholars.²¹

The ‘Yugoslavization’ of the past was not repeated in such a systematic way after the *History of Yugoslav Nations* project, but a similar attempt may be observed in prehistoric archaeology in the form of the *Prehistory of Yugoslav Lands* project, which resulted in five volumes covering prehistory through to the later Iron Ages.²² Subtle attempts to emphasize commonalities and play down the differences throughout the history continued parallel with an increasing focus on Yugoslav republics as a units of historical analysis. There are several major paradigms that the “Croats and Carolingians” project encountered and attempted to change and the most important are: the narrative of the Croat migrations, the role of Byzantium in early medieval Croatian history, and the dependence of archaeology on historical narratives.

2 The Narrative of Croat Migration

The foundation stone for narratives of the past related to the Croatian and South Slav early Middle Ages are chapters 29–36 of the Byzantine treaty known as *De Administrando Imperio*, edited by the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus in the mid-10th century. When Iohannes Lucius of Trogir in the 17th century accepted *DAI* as a key source for the post-Roman and early medieval history of Dalmatia – it become embedded and reified in the narratives of the past. The 19th century, and construction of a Croatian ‘national biography’, saw historian Franjo Rački and linguist Vatroslav Jagić recontextualising *DAI* within narratives of Pan-Slavism and Yugoslavism. Their work was accepted and further elaborated by Miho Barada and particularly by Ferdinand (Ferdo) Šišić, whose book *Croats at the Age of Popular Rulers* published in 1925 remained for a long time a classic work of Croatian

20 Grafenauer *et al.* 1953, see Najbar-Agičić 2013: 301–74, describing at length all the conflicts and controversies surrounding completion of this book.

21 Garašanin & Kovačević 1950; Garašanin 1950, criticised by several Croatian historians and archaeologists in the public debate published as *Gjivoje* 1951, cf. criticism of the Slovene historian Grafenauer (1951: 171–73). Garašanin and Kovačević firmly defended their positions in Garašanin & Kovačević 1951 – see more in Bilogrivić 2016: 65–67.

22 Novaković 2014: 150–51, 247–50 (in English 2011: 148).

historiography.²³ The importance of *DAI* was solidified in federal Yugoslavia with the influential works of Slovenian historian Bogo Grafenauer, which were initially accepted by Croatian scholar Nada Klaić.²⁴ The view (also deriving from *DAI*) that the Croats settled later, argued by Vjekoslav Klaić, Ljudmil Hauptmann, Milan Šufflay, and Konstantin Jireček, was discredited immediately after 1945, as there was no one left to defend it.²⁵ *DAI* provided perfect 'evidence' that the Croats and the Serbs had the same origins, as they lived next to each other in their original homelands White (Great, Unbaptized) Croatia and White (Unbaptized) Serbia, both migrating and settling 'Yugoslav lands' in the 7th century.²⁶ The existence of a South Slav state in the present was thus implicitly justified by the past: the Serbs and Croats cohabited in their original northern 'homelands', moved south and cohabited again in their new homelands.

On a discursive level, Croatian historiography in the 20th century neither seriously questioned *DAI* as a foundation stone of historical interpretation, nor did it question its being dating to the reign of Heraclius (610–641), which *DAI* positions as a chronological marker for Croat arrival in Dalmatia. The only challenge to this paradigm was an article by Lujo Margetić's written in 1977, in which he argued for a 9th century Croatian arrival in Dalmatia. Control of discourse about the past swiftly sprung into action – in the same volume of the journal *Mate Suić* responded to the thesis of Margetić, defending the existing paradigm of Croatian arrival and settlement in 7th century Byzantine Dalmatia.²⁷ What no one expected is that Nada Klaić, who represented the unquestioned orthodoxy, would in her last works change her opinion and partially defend Margetić's views, arguing that the Croats came to Dalmatia in the 9th century from Carantania where they originally settled. While an move away from the existing paradigm, this was still not a change of paradigm, as Klaić's last publications did not have the scholarly weight of her earlier work and were based on assumptions, constructions and circular arguments.²⁸

23 Dzino 2010: 17–19, see also Ančić 2008b (the importance of Rački in this context), and 2011: 25–33 (Barada).

24 See detailed analysis of Klaić's changing views on Croat migration, that never wandered off from *DAI* in Budak 2014a.

25 Ančić 2011: 25–28.

26 *DAI*, 31.3–6, 31.84–85, 32.2–6.

27 Margetić 1977; Suić 1977. Margetić (1985) later retracted his opinion redating the migration to late 7th century. The criticism of Margetić was more extensive – see the contribution of Bilogrivić in this volume.

28 Klaić 1984, see Budak 2014a: 124–28 on the last works of Klaić.

3 The Influence of Byzantium

The dependence on *DAI* as a chief narrative source for early medieval history resulted in another important element in perception of the past, the concept of Byzantine Dalmatia. *DAI* provides evidence for the argument that direct Byzantine rule over the Dalmatian cities, briefly interrupted in the 9th century, was revived by Basil I in 870 and continued until *DAI*'s presentation in the mid-10th century.²⁹ In reality, direct Byzantine rule most likely ended in 878, with the deposition of pro-Byzantine *dux* Domagoj. Byzantine influence in Dalmatia continued as a symbolic matter mostly through acknowledgment of Byzantine seniority by de facto independent Dalmatian municipal elites.³⁰ This theme prevailed in scholarship before 1945, and it is present even in the *History of Yugoslav Nations*. The only notable exception was Šišić, who believed that direct Byzantine rule did not end in 878, following the evidence from *DAI*.³¹

Yet, a paradigm shift was soon brought about by the work of two Serbian-based scholars – Russian *émigré* George (Георгий) Ostrogorski and his student Trieste-born Slovenian Jadran Ferluga, both of whom believed that Byzantine Dalmatia existed all the way up to the 1060s, when the Croat kings assumed the title 'kings of Croatia and Dalmatia'. Ostrogorski, one of the leading Byzantinists at the time, addressed Byzantine Dalmatia in his influential *History of Byzantine State* in passing. However, Ferluga under Ostrogorski's supervision produced his PhD thesis entitled *Byzantine rule in Dalmatia* at the University of Belgrade in 1956, and published it a year later. Due to translation of this book into Italian, Ferluga's ideas were transmitted into Western scholarship.³² Ferluga's thesis was published by the Institute for Byzantine Studies of the Serbian Academy for Sciences and Arts in Belgrade established in 1948 under the capable leadership of Ostrogorski.³³

The foundation of the Institute in 1948 was a turning point marking the rise of the Byzantine studies in Serbia. Significant energy and resources were invested in publication projects such as the periodical *Zbornik radova vizantološkog instituta*, and translation of six volumes of *Byzantine Sources for the History of the Yugoslav Nations*.³⁴ There was no comparable translation

29 *DAI*, 29.58–79, 30.128–29, 31.58–60, for the argument see Ferluga 1957: 68ff.

30 Ančić 1998b; Budak 2014b. The issue is certainly still not solved, see Basić in this volume.

31 Grafenauer *et al.* 1953: 189–90; Šišić 1925: 438–39.

32 Ostrogorski 1959: 199, 242, 297 (Serbian version of Ostrogorski's book, that was published after English edition and after Serbian edition of Ferluga's book); Ferluga 1957 (1st, Serbian edition); 1978 (2nd, updated and changed Italian edition).

33 Pirivatrić 2010: 486–87.

34 Pirivatrić 2010: 486–89 on work of the Institute.

of western sources from the time of Rački who gathered together (but did not translate) all the known sources for medieval history of the South Slavs in the later 19th century.³⁵ The purpose of the Institute was to conduct research into Byzantine sources related to the history of ‘Yugoslav nations’, with a final aim of producing a documented picture of a Yugoslav medieval past.³⁶ It was not only the attempt to utilize the scholarly authority of Ostrogorski as one of the leading world scholars in the field, but also comes in the period when the Communist government makes programmatic attempts to ‘Yugoslavize’ the past, as we saw earlier. Foundation of the Institute was nonetheless part of the same *zeitgeist* – the production of new historical narratives that would present the unity of a Yugoslav space through history and reconcile the ‘national biographies’ of Yugoslav nations. The Byzantine empire cannot be connected to any of the recent ‘enemies’ from the Second World War or from the slightly more distant past (Germans, Italians, Hungarians, Turks) and thus presented a perfect interface relating to a ‘Yugoslav’ medieval space by which to connect disparate South Slavic ‘national biographies’, especially after firm Croatian rejection of more radical attempts to ‘Yugoslavize’ the past in the early 1950s.

Croatian historians accepted it as a prevailing paradigm, without much debate – which is not surprising when one takes into account the absence of Byzantine studies on an institutional level – as pointed out earlier. Even Nada Klaić shifted her earlier position concerning Byzantine Dalmatia to be more in tune with Ferluga’s ideas.³⁷ Following the logic of Byzantine Dalmatia, early Croatian culture and history was strongly linked with this empire and its cultural influences. The focus of Nada Klaić’s 1971 monograph was exactly this, the synthesis of early medieval Croatian history’s relationship

35 Rački 1877.

36 Ostrogorski (1955: v) in the preface to the first volume of translated Byzantine sources for the History of the ‘Yugoslav nations’ says literally: “Research and systematic preparation of the Byzantine sources for the history of our (i.e. *Yugoslav*) nations presents the core purpose of the Institute for Byzantine Studies. For many years members of this Institute were trying to gather and systematize all Byzantine reports about our nations, in order to provide a full and scholarly documented picture of everything that can be learned from the Byzantine sources about our nations.” Ferluga (1957: 1) repeats the essence of Ostrogorski’s words in the preface to the Serbian edition (but not in the Italian edition) of his book: “The research of the whole Byzantine administration in Dalmatia represents a special interest for the national history, as it can enlighten another episode from the past of our nations and their relationship with the Byzantine Empire, as well as the influence of the Empire in our country.” (transl. Dzino).

37 Klaić 1964: 413–16.

between Byzantine Dalmatia and medieval Croat state.³⁸ After 1990 the cultural influences of Byzantium on post-Roman and early medieval Dalmatia were directly implied in the works of Ivo Goldstein, who describes Byzantine Dalmatian cities as the ‘beacons of civilization’, while at the same time minimizing the impact of Carolingian influences.³⁹

4 The Role of Archaeology

The significance of the “Croats and Carolingians” project can be seen in the attempt of this publication to restore dignity to early medieval archaeological sources. Croatian historiography and archaeology through most of its co-existence had an unequal relationship. Textual evidence for a long time enjoyed a privileged status over artefacts – until the 1990s, only epigraphy and art history had more prominence in the interpretation of the past.⁴⁰ The attitude of Nada Klaić, the leading Croatian medievalist during the federal Yugoslav era, towards archaeology is stunningly discriminatory. She devotes to material sources only three out of 90 pages dedicated to review of the sources and literature in her monumental synthesis of Croatian early Middle Ages – unsurprisingly, mostly to epigraphy, architecture and art history.⁴¹

Yet, Klaić was only continuing traditional views on medieval archaeology in Croatian scholarship. Croatian medieval archaeology developed in the late 19th century. While it continuously provided quite a spectacular corpus of evidence, until very recently Croatian medieval archaeology rarely attempted to outgrow its position of auxiliary historical discipline. The main role of archaeology was to provide material evidence for written sources – especially through epigraphic evidence for the existence of rulers of the Croatian polity in the 9th century. The pioneers of Croatian medieval archaeology, such as Lujo Marun, were antiquarians and not trained archaeologists. The first more sophisticated theoretical framework and systematization of medieval finds was made by Ljubo Karaman – by vocation an art historian, not archaeologist. Thanks to Karaman, Croatian medieval archaeology maintained a strong focus

38 Klaić 1971: 241ff., see Raukar 2014: 37, 39.

39 Goldstein 1995: 128. Goldstein (1992: 14, 188–89; 2005: 204, 211) frequently used the parallel of civilisation-barbarity when assessing the Byzantine cities and Croats who settled around them.

40 This is not limited only to Croatian medieval studies – e.g. Moreland (2001b: 10) seeing archaeology being treated as the ‘handmaiden’ of history.

41 Klaić 1971: 90–92.

on art history and typology and readily accepted secondary status in relation to written sources.⁴²

Similarly to medieval history – post-Roman and medieval archaeology developed into a ‘national’ discipline, mostly due to the efforts of Marun, and the already mentioned interpretative frameworks of Karaman.⁴³ In accordance with 19th century paradigms concerning the past, the archaeological culture of post-Roman and early medieval Dalmatia was (and still is) defined within the national paradigm as ‘old-Croat’ (*starohrvatska*).⁴⁴ In that framework, the buildings and objects such as churches, weapons or inscriptions were decontextualised and interpreted within the national paradigm as evidence of Croatian statehood or Croatian presence in Dalmatia. The fact that Croatian medieval archaeology was regarded as ‘national’ rather than medieval by default made it politically charged as no other Socialist Republic in Federal Yugoslavia gave such a status to medieval archaeology. This characterisation of medieval archaeology as ‘Croatian’ caused frequent conflicts between the archaeologists and local Serb population during the excavations of some early medieval sites in Dalmatia, resulting in the development of contested histories for some sites and buildings, such as the Carolingian-era Church of Holy Saviour at the source of river Cetina.⁴⁵

Personal conflict between the rebellious Marun and the authority of Frane Bulić, the ‘godfather’ of Dalmatian archaeology in the late 19th century, also determined the chronological parameters for Croatian national archaeology. Marun’s collection of medieval artefacts in Knin, that developed into the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments (later moved to Split) never joined with the collection of the Archaeological Museum in Split, as originally planned.⁴⁶ The archaeology of the early Middle ages outside of the

42 Karaman (1924/25: 44; 1930: 46) emphasized primacy of written over material sources – also Bilogrivić 2014: 213.

43 There are a few works about Marun, mostly focusing on factography, e.g. Zekan 2007; 2008, for Karaman: Rapanić 1986; Bilogrivić 2014.

44 While we can trace the term as a description of the early medieval period in Croatia already in the late 19th century, it is Karaman who used it to define early medieval archaeological culture, Bilogrivić 2014: 209–10.

45 Milošević & Peković 2009: 63–66 n.116, cf. recently Kumir 2017/18: 313, 317ff, for early conflicts between local Serbs and the archaeologists in Dalmatia. Even the exhibition “Croats and Carolingians” fell victim to nationalism, as the Zemaljski Museum from dominantly Bosniak Sarajevo in neighbouring Bosnia and Herzegovina at that time rejected collaboration, most certainly for nationalistic reasons – i.e. to ‘prove’ that there were no Croats living in early medieval Herzegovina or Bosnia, cf. Anonymous 2000.

46 Zekan 2008: 28–31; Čvrlić 2009: 45–49; Kumir 2016: 10–11; Jelovina 1992: 16. Marun’s letters to Šime Ljubić where the conflict is described, are published in Jurdana 2010: 522–23.

Dalmatian cities thus became institutionally separated from Late Antiquity and the Dalmatian early Middle Ages have been seen as a discontinuity with antiquity. The successors of Marun and Karaman – especially Zdenko Vinski (prehistorian by vocation) deepened this division, while Stjepan Gunjača, Dušan Jelovina and Janko Belošević continued with the primary focus of research on cemeteries and churches, disregarding settlement patterns, especially outside of Dalmatian urban centers.⁴⁷ Croatian medieval archaeology also maintained, as it does even today, a strong emphasis on a culture-history approach, identifying the religion and ethnicity of deceased persons through the assemblages of grave goods and burial customs. The interpretative frameworks of medieval archaeologists were developed with dependence on written sources and narratives of the past constructed by historians, in a way almost comparable to a mild ‘Stockholm syndrome’ – the same issue described by Lozny as ‘history-with-spade’ approach in the Communist archaeologies.⁴⁸ Mainstream interpretation of the so-called Dark Ages of Dalmatia remained governed by written sources – especially *DAI*, by assuming that a large wave of settled Slavs existed already in the 7th century, without actual evidence.⁴⁹ Important exception, and strong influence on the scholarly circle that carried “Croats and Carolingians” represented the work of Željko Rapanić in the 1980s, and it is not surprising that he was the only author of the older generation present in the project.⁵⁰

5 “Croats and Carolingians”

“Croats and Carolingians” represents a break with several traditions in Croatian scholarship. Perhaps the most important is the break with viewing early medieval Dalmatia in the shadow of the Byzantine cultural umbrella, based on

47 Kumir 2016: 12; Evans 1989: 30–33; Dzino 2010: 51–53, see also the criticism of Ančić 1999: 203; 2007: 203.

48 Lozny 2016: 24–27. As Bowden 2003: 21–33 pointed out for the case of Albanian and Greek early medieval archeology, it develops as a “passive adjunct to predetermined historical narrative”. Croatian archaeology is no exception, with the main difference being that instead of continuity (as in the Albanian and Greek case) it follows predetermined a historical narrative of continuity and migration.

49 There are many overviews of the history of Croatian medieval archaeology, that usually maintain a panegyric approach and the ‘cult of ancestors’, e.g. Petrinec 2009b; Zekan 2009; Vrsalović 2013. More critical approaches are very rare e.g. Evans 1989: 30–33; Kumir 2016: 8–14; Bilogrivić 2016: 55–81. See also Curta 2009b for archaeology of east and south-east Europe in the Communist era.

50 Rapanić 1980; 1987; 1995; 2000.

increasing finds of Carolingian artefacts, already detected by previous generation of researchers.⁵¹ The creation of a Dalmatian-Croatian duchy, the predecessor of the Croatian kingdom, is seen as a direct consequence of the changes brought by the expansion of Carolingian imperial templates. We should not forget that “Croats and Carolingians” was also a generational project – all but one author of the exhibition catalogue are Croatian baby-boomers, born 1945–1960.⁵² The exit of the most influential scholars of the old generation, Nada Klaić (died 1988), Stjepan Gunjača (died 1981), and Dušan Jelovina (retired 1993), leaving scholarly active only Janko Belošević, who was already 70 years-old in 1999. This left space for the next generation in the prime of their academic careers (40s and early 50s) at the time of the exhibition. This relates especially to the quartet: Ante Milošević, Nikola Jakšić, Mladen Ančić and Miljenko Jurković, who carried the project and focused on Dalmatia as a field of research. To be precise, the change really began a few years earlier. A crucial stepping stone was certainly the edited volume *Croatia in the Early Middle Ages – A Cultural Survey*, originally published in 1991, with English edition published in 1999. The volume balances between the old views (e.g. the contribution of Goldstein) and new views about Carolingian influence and late 8th century migrations carried by Vladimir Sokol.⁵³ In 1997 and 1998 volumes of *Hortus Artium Medievalium* Neven Budak, another Croatian baby-boomer, and Ančić, in different ways, reached similar conclusions. In their view the Dalmatian duchy was a break, not continuity with the tradition and its beginnings connected with the Carolingian, not Byzantine structures of power.⁵⁴ Early medieval Dalmatia was interpreted as an example of a frontier society, which transformed through the expansion of the Carolingian imperial infrastructure. Ančić in the “Croats and Carolingians” carries his argument further, building upon the original thesis of Margetić, strongly arguing in favor of the 9th century Croatian migration as an elite group, rather than as an already formed people.⁵⁵

51 Important summaries are: Belošević 1997; 2000.

52 Mladen Ančić, Vedrana Delonga, Nikola Jakšić, Miljenko Jurković, Ivan Matejčić, Ante Milošević, Željko Rapanić (the only author who is not a baby-boomer), and Željko Tomičić.

53 Supićić 1999, especially Sokol 1999.

54 Budak 1997 (cf. the early stage of these ideas in Budak 1994: 28); Ančić 1997; 1998. Although Budak was not one of the authors of the “Croats and Carolingians”, his contribution on a similar topic was subsequently published by the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments – Budak 2001.

55 Ančić 2000; 2016, cf. his chapter in this volume.

Milošević in earlier publications from an archaeological perspective questioned the paradigm of post-Roman Dalmatia as a scorched ground flooded by Slav migration wave.⁵⁶ In his contribution to the catalogue Milošević presents the 9th century in Dalmatia as a mix of continuity and discontinuity, strongly supporting Ančić's conclusion that the Croat migration in the 9th century represented new arrivals into an existing Slav-indigenous *mélange* with material evidence. Milošević's contribution reveals social changes taking place by looking into the symbols of power utilised by the early medieval Dalmatian elite of late 8th/early 9th century – especially warrior equipment found in graves.⁵⁷

Jurković and Jakšić focused on early medieval art and architecture in Dalmatia, presenting more evidence to strengthen this apparent shift of paradigm. They both showed through architecture and masonry workshops the existence of networks between the local elites in 9th century Dalmatia and its deeper hinterland, which utilized Carolingian visual models and adjusted them to local circumstances. Jurković presents abundant evidence to show that the Dalmatian-Croat duchy was under the most visible and persistent of Carolingian influences, architecture. Yet, the builders from Dalmatia did it in their own stylisation, by keeping with traditions of sacred spaces, as late antique churches were reworked and adapted in the 9th century on a large scale by using Carolingian architectural templates.⁵⁸ Jakšić analyses early medieval pre-Romanesque masonry in Croatian lands, pointing out obvious similarities with Italy. Yet, those similarities were not presented as mere copying of the existing templates, but through the existence of different workshops that show individual approaches and creative recombination of the existing templates coming from the Carolingian world.⁵⁹ This creative approach towards new cultural templates is shown in the epigraphic evidence, which is covered by Vedrana Delonga, who summarizes her argument with a simple statement outlining the cultural *mélange* of early medieval Croatian lands: 'unity in diversity'.⁶⁰

56 Milošević 1990; 1995a; 1995b; 1996.

57 Milošević 2000b.

58 Jurković 2000a, expanding on Jurković 1995b; 1995c; 1997.

59 Jakšić 2000, expanding on Jakšić 1995a; 1997.

60 Delonga 2000, which is a small abstract from her capital work on early medieval epigraphy in Dalmatia: Delonga 1996.

6 Conclusion

The catalogue and the exhibition “Croats and Carolingians” made important changes in the local historical narratives of Croatian historiography. Firstly, the catalogue restored dignity to Croatian archaeology and the tremendous work done by earlier generations of archaeologists, showing material evidence unburdened by the primacy of the written sources. At the same time the contributions to the catalogue presented a clearer picture of the late 8th and 9th century in the wider area, depicting early medieval Croatian lands as an imperial frontier zone, where due to the influences of expanding Carolingian imperial power, change starts in the construction of local – especially elite – identities. Overall, it broke with the existing historical narratives, which were largely impacted by the need to ‘Yugoslavize’ the past by overemphasizing the impact of the Byzantines as a cultural interface connecting historical biographies of early medieval Serbs and Croats.

In 2000, when published, the catalogue *Croats and Carolingians* presented an important stepping stone for moving from modernistic to post-modern interpretations of the Croatian and Dalmatian past. From the Byzantine backyard, the view of this area stretching from the Baltic, via central Europe to the Adriatic moves to a very exciting and creative Carolingian frontier zone, where new cultural forms were developed in creative ways. Yet, it did not generate an immediately significant and robust response in local scholarship or initiate different approaches to the existing evidence.⁶¹ As said earlier, the forces of authority and tradition govern the mental templates of Croatian academia, significantly increasing resistance to changes of interpretative paradigms and interpretation of social realities. Yet, as time goes by the scholarly community can see that this exhibition and the publication of its catalogue represented a paradigm shift not only in Croatian historiography and archaeology, and that its influence on the next generation of scholars displays more visibility.

61 Cf. Bilogrivić, and Vedriš in this volume.

Carolingian Renaissance or Renaissance of the 9th Century on the Eastern Adriatic?

Neven Budak

Eighteen years ago, the exhibition “Croats and Carolingians” had a strong impact on a number of different fields of medieval sciences in Croatia. On the one hand, it was a summary of years of previous research, starting with the ground-breaking study by Lujko Margetić on the time of the Croatian settlement and the article by Željko Rapanić on the survival of Christianity in the surroundings of Split.¹ Both of these studies influenced Croatian scholarship immensely in the form of substantial changes in the paradigmatic master-narrative, offering a very different picture of the early medieval period than that which had prevailed up to the 1980s.² On the other hand, this exhibition was also the impetus for an attempt to more closely interweave Croatian medieval history with the history of the West, especially with the Carolingian imperial sphere. There is not sufficient space here to even briefly recollect the relationship between Croatian national and European general history throughout the late 19th and the 20th century. It suffices to say for the present paper that one of the weak points of Croatian historiography in general was that it had neglected its European framework, making many aspects of Croatian history often unique and without parallel in other parts of the continent. As a consequence of this, many theses and conclusions found in the works of even outstanding Croatian historians can hardly be defended today.³ Another problem, of course, was the ideological background of historical, and for that matter also archaeological and art-historical, research. Historians stood, consciously or not, in the service of national ideologies, supplying evidence in support of the national integration, in whatever way they thought this integration was supposed to happen within or without a broader South Slavic framework. Marxism, in its rudimentary form, also played a role in the period after the

¹ Margetić 1977; Rapanić 1980.

² The best overview of previous opinions can be found in Klaić 1971: 59–66, 126–40.

³ See the Introduction and Dzino in this volume, as well as Dzino 2014b: 91–92.

Second World War, but in reality it had little if any effect on the interpretation of the Croatian early Middle Ages.⁴

The fall of Communism, and even more so the collapse of Yugoslavia, resulted in distinct changes in Croatian medieval scholarship. Debates on the origins of the Croats were reopened, without being always of the desired scholarly level. National mythology was finding its way into the media and there was nothing professional scholars could do about it, even if they wanted to. In the wartime atmosphere, the idea of Croatia as a bulwark of the West was also recalled and the motif of 'returning to Europe' after the communist Dark Ages could also often be heard.⁵

In the mid-1990s this nationalist discourse lost some of its impetus and more space was opened for serious scholarly work. The end of the war also meant that circumstances were more favourable for archaeologists and art historians to conduct their field research. The establishment of the journal *Hortus Artium Medievalium* in 1995 was a clear sign of this new atmosphere, as were the conferences organized by the Centre for Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages in Motovun. In a way, a logical result of these changes was the idea to organize the exhibition on Croats and Carolingians, as part of a great European project celebrating the anniversary of the coronation of Charlemagne. Many new theories and results had to be summarised and re-evaluated. At the same time the need was felt, often stirred up by politicians, to show present Croatia to mostly 'ignorant' western scholars as already part of the western – Christian and Latin – world by the 9th c. This was a legitimate scholarly attitude, taking into account that Croatian history was (and often still is) left out from any presentation of European history, as well as from the majority of specialised studies.⁶ However, one day some other generation of historians will recognize that we – consciously or not, like our predecessors who were in the service of a nascent nation – by organizing this exhibition supported Croatia in joining the European Union (e.g. Dzino in this volume).

Among the new ideas that emerged in the 1990s was one which was actually an old idea reborn, and an attempt was made to reshape it. Already in 1984 Mate Suić was the first author – to my knowledge – who spoke about the

4 Janković 2016.

5 Budak 2004; 2017.

6 We can mention, as one of many examples, the otherwise brilliant book of Wickham (2005). The author explained the exclusion of the Slav world from his book by means of his "linguistic weakness" (5). Wickham is not to be blamed for that, since until very recently it was rather unusual for Croatian and other Slavic-speaking researchers to publish in English or some other language more common to the international scholarly community.

influences of the Carolingian Renaissance in Croatia.⁷ This subject remained neglected until the mid-1990s. In my book *The First Centuries of Croatia*, having in mind the extensive building works carried out in the 9th c., but also all accompanying activities, like the decorating of churches, the significant increase in the quantity of epigraphic evidence and the existence of a ducal chancellery, I suggested that we should perhaps consider the existence of a Croatian 'Carolingian Renaissance', especially in the time of bishop Theodosius of Nin.⁸ At the same time, Miljenko Jurković and Nikola Jakšić introduced the term 'Liutprand Renaissance' into Croatian scholarship.⁹ I would like here to question the idea of a Carolingian or Lombard Renaissance in Croatia by tracing the beginnings and character of changes in the former Roman province of Dalmatia. In particular, this paper will consider whether the revival of arts and writing occurred concurrently with the advancement of the Carolingians along the eastern Adriatic coast, or whether the impetus for change came from some other side at some other time.

Since the 1990s, the prevailing interpretation of the seemingly spontaneous and sudden building activities, the rather intense decoration of churches and the newly discovered habit of composing inscriptions in stone has been that the Carolingian conquest resulted in the formation of one or more political entities in former Roman Dalmatia, followed by missionary activities aimed at Christianizing then-still-pagan Slavs and the newly arrived Croats.¹⁰ This interpretative construct seemed logical, because we know next to nothing about any kind of political organization of Dalmatia before ca. 800 and there is evidence for the spread of Christianity from northern Italy to Croatia during the first half of the 9th c. This confidence in the Carolingians was so strong that some scholars suggested that the construction of the large Church of the Holy Trinity in Zadar, the metropolis of Byzantine Dalmatia, was a sign of the submission of the city to the Franks.¹¹

7 Suić 1984: 29. Discussing influences on poetry and music, Suić stated that it is: "Unquestionable that the Carolingian Renaissance of the 8th and 9th centuries gave a decisive direction to the further development in this field, as it did, regarding our country, also in other fields."

8 Budak 1994: 28.

9 Jurković 1995a, esp. 144; Jakšić 2010; 2014; 2015: 103–31; Jurković & Caillet 2007–09; Jurković & Basić 2009.

10 Jurković & Lukšić 1996. The question of the time of the arrival of the Croats is of little importance for the discussion on different 'Renaissances', but it should be mentioned that in more recent scholarship the idea emerged that there was no 'arrival of the Croats', or at least no significant group under such a name, but that this *gens* developed in Dalmatia during the first half of the 9th century or even a little later: Budak 2008; Dzino 2010.

11 Jurković 1995c: 120; 1996.

I would like to argue, however, that things should be seen from another perspective, taking into account the development along the whole eastern Adriatic coast. To start with, let us take a short look at the practice of epigraphy. Thanks to the brilliant work of Vedrana Delonga, we already have a very fine analysis of stone inscriptions from the territory of the Croatian medieval duchy and kingdom and little could be added to her conclusions.¹² The great majority of inscriptions were dedicational and liturgical, while epitaphs were rarely composed. Influences of Roman dedicational inscriptions are obvious, leaving open the question whether this was a result of continuity in literacy, or a practice imported by missionaries in the 9th c.¹³

Without going into the details, I would like to draw attention to a group of inscriptions, dated to the first half of the 9th c., which are preserved in the broader region of Kotor in Upper Dalmatia (*Dalmatia superior*), a territory which most probably never came under Frankish influence.¹⁴ The majority of these inscriptions were dedicational and liturgical, originating from altar screens.¹⁵ Four of them have been dated by palaeographical analysis to the very beginning of the 9th c., while one has been firmly dated to the year 805, using the *Anno Domini* style.¹⁶ The one from the Ulcinj *ciborium* bears the names of Emperors Leo V the Armenian and his son Constantine (813–820),¹⁷ and an inscription from Budva is dated to 840.¹⁸ If we compare the dates of those inscriptions with those of the inscriptions from medieval Croatia, it becomes noticeable that the inscriptions from this region predate the earliest Croatian dated epigraphic text from the Benedictine monastery of Rižinice (ca. 840–852), mentioning the *dux* Trpimir.¹⁹ Regarding the *Anno Domini* style of dating, the earliest Croatian example is from 888,²⁰ 83 years after the inscription

12 Delonga 1996. See also: Steindorff 2005; Delonga 1998; 2007; Jakšić 2006; 2012; Matijević Sokol 2007; 2009; Budak 201b.

13 Maraković & Jurković 2007.

14 The region of Upper Dalmatia included, among others, the cities of Ragusiu (Dubrovnik) and Kotor, Barada 1949.

15 Zornija 2014; Lončar 2006.

16 Mihaljčić & Steindorff 1982: 43.

17 Mihaljčić & Steindorff 1982: 100–01.

18 Mihaljčić & Steindorff 1982: 97. The only 9th-century example from Lower Dalmatia (*Dalmatia inferior*) is a record in Thomas the Archdeacon's history, mentioning that Justin was the archbishop of Split in 840. Thomas' knowledge must have been based on a charter issued by the archbishop, *HS* 13 (p. 58–59).

19 Delonga 1996: 138. Trpimir's charter mentioning the foundation of the monastery is dated by most historians to 852, but there are also convincing suggestions that it was composed around 840—Matijević Sokol 2010.

20 Delonga 1996: 133. It is not by accident that no earlier Croatian examples are preserved, because we also have an inscription from 895 mentioning duke Mutimir (Delonga 1996: 166) and his charter is dated *anno Domini* 892 (*CD*, 1.20, p. 22–25).

bearing the name of bishop John of Kotor. The inscription of bishop Handegis from Pula, dated in the same way to the year 857, should also be mentioned.²¹ Although it comes from Istria which was ruled by the Carolingians from 788 onwards, it is also half a century younger than the inscription from Kotor.

Usually it is claimed that the *Anno Domini* style of dating was propagated by Alcuin, and then spread throughout the Carolingian empire to be adopted by the papal chancellery and transferred to other parts of Europe.²² If this is right, it would mean that Carolingian or papal influences in literacy had come to the region of Kotor before they left traces in Croatia or even in Istria. The early example of such dating from a lost charter in Split can be explained by close contact of the Dalmatian metropolis with Rome.²³ There are no such early inscriptions from Lower Dalmatia using this method of dating.²⁴ However, we do have some inscriptions from the region that can be otherwise dated to the end of the 8th and the very beginning of the 9th c. In the Archaeological Museum in Split there is a fragment of an 8th-century sarcophagus lid from Trogir, bearing the name of Emperor Constantine.²⁵ It is unclear whether it was Constantine V or Constantine VI, but in any case it documents the revival of the Roman epigraphic tradition, or 'epigraphic habit' as some call it, in central Dalmatia.²⁶

Two more sarcophagi belonging to archbishop John and prior Peter, both from Split, may have rather early dates ascribed to them, although Peter's sarcophagus must be several decades younger than John's.²⁷ In his epitaph, Peter states that he was educated (*eruditus*) in Split, which means that there was probably some kind of education in literacy already in the first half of the 9th century. In an earlier publication I argued for the authenticity of the testament of prior Peter, not necessarily identical with the prior Peter mentioned on the sarcophagus, which in my opinion should be dated to around the beginning of the 9th century. However, even if we reject it, there is enough evidence that the 'epigraphic habit' and a revival of literacy began before the Carolingians briefly conquered Dalmatia, so that this phenomenon cannot be explained with the

21 Milošević 2000a: 2.60; Maraković & Jurković 2007: 360.

22 Bod 2013: 87.

23 See footnote 18, above.

24 The region of Lower Dalmatia included Zadar, Split, and Trogir in what is today Central Dalmatia and the islands of Cres, Lošinj, Krk and Rab with the cities of Osor, Krk and Rab.

25 Mihaljčić & Steindorff 1982: 47.

26 The term 'epigraphic habit' was introduced, in relation to the Roman epigraphy, by MacMullen 1982.

27 Basić & Jurković 2011: 172–74 (the dating of John's sarcophagus). Jakšić 2010: 23 (Peter's sarcophagus).

presence of Charlemagne's officers or missionaries coming from the West to the coastal cities.²⁸

Another sign of the revival of 'Romaness' is the renewed use of sarcophagi as a type of sepulchral monument. Again, the oldest examples of such practice come from Dalmatia: the already mentioned sarcophagus of John the archbishop from Split and the sarcophagus from Trogir bearing the name of Emperor Constantine. In the territory of the Croatian medieval duchy, elites started showing their social status in this way some decades later, like in the royal basilica in Biskupija near Knin, at Begovača in Biljane Donje or in Galovac near Zadar. They usually did not simply reuse existing Roman sarcophagi, but had their own made from elements of Roman architecture.²⁹

Several years ago I tried to show that the spread of the cult of St Bartholomew was connected to the baptism of the Croatian ruling dynasty.³⁰ The main argument was that all the early medieval sites of the cult were placed on the estates of the ruler. Since the remains of the Apostle were kept in Benevento, it seemed reasonable to suppose that the missionaries who took part in the conversion of the Croatian elite came from that Lombard duchy. Finally, the easiest way to cross the Adriatic connects Benevento, via Monte Gargano and several islands, with Dalmatia. The presumed early appearance of the Beneventan script in Dalmatia might be another indicator of these connections, as can the spread and endurance of Beneventan liturgical singing as opposed to the Frankish-Gregorian or Roman chant.³¹ We should also not forget the similarity of the Church of St Sophia in Benevento with the Church of the Holy Trinity in Zadar, by far the biggest early medieval investment in Dalmatia.³² It was a huge building not only in late 8th-century terms, incomparable to anything built in Dalmatia after the 6th century and before the 11th century. Although the church was erected in two successive phases, it is difficult to believe that the bishop of Zadar was the only one among his Dalmatian colleagues who could have financed such an edifice. Money obviously had to come from somewhere else. Regarding the great interest of Constantine V in ecclesiastical matters and his dispute with Rome over jurisdiction, it might be plausible to think that Constantine decided to make a clear sign of the presence of his power in Zadar, the main Byzantine stronghold in Dalmatia.³³ Since most of his gold

28 Budak 2018b.

29 Delonga 1996: 301.

30 Budak 1999.

31 Novak 1928; Gyug 2016: 38–40.

32 Jurković 1996; Vežić 1998; 2002.

33 Budak 2018b. Florin Curta (2010a: 270–73) suggested that the 85 *solidi* of Constantine, minted in Syracuse and found in today Croatia were a gift of the emperor to members of

coins discovered in Croatia came from the Syracusan mint, perhaps it is possible to assume that the plan for the church in Zadar also came from southern Italy.

Miljenko Jurković and Ivan Basić proved recently that there was an attempt to establish, or re-establish, the archdiocese of Split in the last quarter of the 8th c.³⁴ The main evidence for this event was the production of a masonry workshop which produced the furniture for the Split cathedral. The existence of a workshop in Split and another in Kotor, together with the erection of the Church of the Holy Trinity in Zadar, is a clear sign of economic growth, but also of the need of an emerging elite to create and express its identity. Stronger involvement in the Mediterranean system of communications, accompanied by an emphasized presence of central authority, might have caused a revival among the Dalmatian elite of identification with Romanness, expressed also through a revival of literacy. Commissioning inscriptions, even if they were placed in closed instead of public spaces, could have been an imitation of still visible Roman monuments, but performed in a Christian context.

Therefore, I suggest that the first early medieval 'Renaissance' along the eastern Adriatic coast started in the last quarter of the 8th c., not as a project organized by some central authority, but as a combination of different influences encouraged by the revival of trade and by economic growth, which both gave birth to the emergence of a new local elite subject to the Byzantine empire.³⁵ The awakened feeling of belonging to the Roman world (or should we say the Empire?), much like that felt by the inhabitants of Istria and Venice and different from those living in the rural hinterland, combined with Byzantine imperial intervention and cultural influences from both Lombard areas of Italy, must have created some sort of a revival of the Roman past, at least in the eyes of individuals at that time.³⁶ This was not the 'Liutprand Renaissance', but influences from the Lombard court were certainly part of it.

Direct Carolingian influences in the form of architectural plans, templates for stone carvings, texts for epigraphical inscriptions, and the royal chancery came decades later.³⁷ This Carolingian heritage was used to create the identity of the new Croatian elite whose members, maybe following Charlemagne's idea of *renovatio imperii*, wished to present themselves as possessing an

the Dalmatian (maybe Slavic) elites. This would also testify to the interest of the emperor in Dalmatian affairs.

34 Basić & Jurković 2011.

35 Gelichi 2008; 2010; 2012; Hodges 2008; Curta 2010a.

36 Borri 2010b; Dzino 2010: 160–61.

37 Maraković & Jurković 2007: 366–67.

imperial/Roman identity. This process must have started shortly before the mid-9th c., in the time of the first Croatian duke Trpimir, but it seems that its peak was during the reign of Branimir and Mutimir, when the Croat rulers stabilized their authority and enjoyed the support of the ambitious bishop of Nin, Theodosius, whose plan was to reunite the former ecclesiastical province of Dalmatia, divided in the time of the schism of Fotius.³⁸

Fragments of stone inscriptions, commissioned by abbots, rulers, priests, and secular dignitaries are almost all that remains from the written culture of this period. However, we can still claim that, with a delay of several decades, echoes of the Carolingian Renaissance also reached Croatia. By what means was the legacy of the leading figures of Charlemagne's entourage transmitted to Croatia? Germanic names of some priests, recorded on inscriptions and in documents, indicate that missionaries and priests coming from northern Italy are to be credited for that.³⁹ However, we should not forget the close contacts which Theodosius kept with Rome and the priest John who obviously more than once left the Papal curia for Croatia.⁴⁰ Croatian rulers were visiting a place in Friuli, maybe San Canzian d'Isonzo, where the Cividale Gospel was kept in which they had their names inscribed.⁴¹ There can be little doubt that they used the occasion to visit Cividale, where they could gain insight into cultural activities in an important Carolingian centre.⁴² Though there is no direct evidence, we can presume that the duchy of Benevento, with its monastic centres, also had a part in this cultural transmission.

Therefore, to answer the question contained in the title of this paper: there was a Renaissance of the 8th c, during which the revival of dormant tradition in Dalmatia was supported by Byzantium and most probably by influences from Benevento. After a few decades, there was a belated Croatian 'Carolingian Renaissance' introduced mainly from northern Italy, and seemingly also from Rome and the south of the Italian peninsula. During the following two centuries attempts would be made by the elites from both sides to overcome these initial differences.⁴³

38 Budak 1994: 95–96.

39 Katičić 1998: 331.

40 Jakšić 2015: 387–416; 2016.

41 Vedriš 2014b.

42 The names of Trpimir and Branimir can be found on the margins of the Cividale Gospel: Katičić 1998: 349–53.

43 Budak 2007.

PART 2

Migrations



Migration or Transformation: The Roots of the Early Medieval Croatian Polity

Mladen Ančić

When the reactions provoked by the material accompanying the exhibition “Croats and Carolingians” are briefly summarized, one of the main points of contention seems to have been the question of whether there were in fact any migrations in the eastern Adriatic area at the very end of the 8th century. The answer to that dilemma defines the starting point of the trajectory that the early Croat polity traversed in the 9th century. Briefly and to the point – was that polity the result of conquest or did it arise through a process of transformation of local communities ignited by foreign (Frankish/Carolingian) intervention and prolonged interaction with the distant imperial centers of the Carolingian and Byzantine Empires? In this regard, the main thesis woven into the material accompanying the exhibition was that there were migrations at that time and consequently that impetus for the creation of the Croatian polity was the result of conquest. Elaborating on that conclusion three main ‘pull’ factors were defined that brought about those migrations. First, there was the long Carolingian war with the Avars that resulted in the demise of the Qaganate. This in turn produced a political void in the former Roman provinces of Dalmatia and Pannonia that now had to be ‘filled up’ in some way. All of this created the need for the rearrangement of the Byzantine-Carolingian imperial contact-zone in the hinterland of the eastern Adriatic, up to the shores of Danube. It was largely as a result of these factors that the Carolingian authorities backed, or even organized small to medium scale migrations of the Slavophone war-bands and later on helped the construction of rudimental polities by some of those groups.¹

This thesis was implicitly or explicitly rejected in a twofold manner. In the international arena the rejection was predominantly implicit and came from what might be labeled the anti-migrationist camp. The idea of ‘immobilism’, which characterizes this camp, was very popular among Anglophone archaeologists and historians of Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages starting in

¹ Ančić 2001: 62ff., with some of the arguments more elaborated in Ančić 2005; 2016; 2018. For the distinction of ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors in the migration processes see Brettell 2000: 102–04.

the 1960s, but it is no longer a prevailing intellectual paradigm today. Recently, a more nuanced picture of late antique and early medieval transformations has emerged with the help of ‘migration theory’ and new source interpretation methodologies.² Authors like Walter Pohl and Francesco Borri in their interpretation of the early history of the Croats still insist on ‘immobilism’ and the total absence of any migrations, at least with regard to the population of early medieval Croatia. Accordingly, they reject the southbound migration of some bands of Slavophone warriors at the end of the 8th or the beginning of the 9th century.³ Somewhat different is the position of Patrick Geary who acknowledges migrations but denies them any role in the construction of early medieval ethnic identities.⁴ Denis Alimov, also challenging the idea of migration, adopts a similar stance but with more thoroughly developed arguments.⁵

In the domestic Croatian arena, the idea of a small scale warrior population transfer in the form of migration of warrior bands, among them those who were called Croats, was also rejected without thorough discussion. Instead of discussing the pros and cons of such an idea, most of the local historians and archaeologists tacitly retain the old narrative of a massive migration of Croats who came to Dalmatia in the 7th century as a fully formed ‘nation’ with a unified language and material culture, relatively developed social institutions and distinctive art styles.⁶

Here I will address only the rejection in the international arena beginning with Patrick Geary. In his widely popular book, *The Myth of Nations*, Geary starts his story on Croats (and Serbs) noting that: “Serbs and Croats kill each

2 Härke 1998; Ward-Perkins 2005; Halsall 2007: 417–54; Heather 2009: 1–35.

3 Pohl (1985; 1988: 261ff.; 1995) developed his arguments some time ago and after that never revisited the problem in written form. His arguments are upgraded by Borri (2008b; 2011) – research fellow at Institut für Mittelalterforschung der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, directed by Walter Pohl.

4 Geary 2002.

5 Alimov 2008: 101–10.

6 Reactions of the Croatian scholarly community to the ideas developed at the beginning of the 21st century are summarized in Dzino 2010: 47ff. and 179ff.; see also Bilogrivić in this volume. Concerning the possibility of migrations Dzino himself (2010: 182, 212, 216) does not reject the idea of the migrations, but remains skeptical, opting instead for the process of transformation of indigenous society. As far as the old conception of migration of the ‘whole nation’ is concerned, I do not see any need to refute it – in itself it contradicts all that is today known about the late antique/early medieval societies and consequently is totally unconvincing as an explanatory scheme regardless of its time frame. On the other hand, the rapid transformation of indigenous society may seem a sound explanatory scheme, but its proponents failed to produce any credible proofs that outside (Carolingian) intervention was of such scale that it provided impetus for rapid and thorough transformation. See Budak and Bilogrivić in this volume, with somewhat different views.

other and both kill Bosnians in the name of national rights". He connects that claim with his personal, needless to say, uncorroborated, insight that in "the rhetoric of nationalist leaders ... interpretation of the period from circa 400–1000" holds a central place.⁷ Things being as they are, Geary sees his duty (in the words of John Hutchinson) to: "re-educate policy elites of the true character of the classical past so that they can reject the disastrous simplifications of populist xenophobe contentions".⁸ In order to do that with the Croats (and Serbs) Geary rehashes the old idea of Pohl in a few sentences. Almost thirty years ago, Pohl, leaning on the earlier ideas of Omeljan Pritsak, came up with the hypothesis that, in Geary's words: "the term Croat probably originally designated either a social stratum or was the title of a regional office within the Qaganate".⁹ The somewhat patronizing tone of the assertion that modern-day Croats and Serbs who were killing each other were in fact descendants of the Avar frontier guards, accords with the absence of any scholarly procedure or serious analysis of source material.¹⁰ It is unfortunately not possible to discuss the general idea because neither Pohl nor Geary provided any substantive evidence from the written sources or archaeological material to corroborate their statements.

A similarly patronizing stance appears in the works of Francesco Borri, who shows even more contempt for 'local knowledge', being unable to correctly render even the names of those whom he cites.¹¹ He also builds his argument on the idea of Pohl,¹² pursuing somewhat a different direction through

7 Geary 2002: 4, 7.

8 Hutchinson 2005: 645. As a witness, historian, and not passive bystander of the nationalist mobilization in former Yugoslavia in the 1980's, I strongly support Hutchinson's (2005: 645) claim that: "(m)ost nationalists will have as reference points periods closer to home" than the period "from circa 400–1000".

9 Geary 2002: 146, cf. Pritsak 1983.

10 Geary's (2002: 147) statement that: "(t)he early history of Croats is impossible to disentangle entirely and is based almost entirely on the account of the Byzantine emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus" – clearly points to the fact that the author did not read much on early Croatian history. It is impossible to disregard the evidence coming from the charters of Croatian dukes from the 9th century. Apart from that there is very important information on the subject in the Carolingian sources from the first half of the same century, as well as in the *Chronicon Venetum* of the Venetian John the Deacon from the beginning of the 11th century. If the large body of archaeological material, including the inscriptions is added into the picture then it becomes quite clear how wide off the mark Geary's statement is – see in English Dzino 2010: 175–210.

11 For example, Borri (2011: 218) calls 19th century linguist Vatroslav Jagić – Jaroslav, and Miho Barada – Milo (2011: 219, 230).

12 Borri 2011: 219. When the author states that Barada saw "the Croats as an ethnic group formed at the edges of the Avar kingdom, anticipating Walter Pohl" it becomes clear

detailed textual analysis of the *De Administrando Imperio* (*DAI*). He begins his analysis with the assumption that there was never any migration of a group (of any size) of people called 'Croats'. When acknowledging that the "ethnonym *Hrvat*" is "attested in locations distant from one another and in sources independent of Constantine",¹³ Borri does not engage in an explanation of that fact, but rather chooses to discuss narrative strategies of the *DAI*.

For this author, the Croats in Dalmatia are some amorphous social entity ('border guards') which mystically coalesced into an 'ethnic community' in the 10th century. In Borri's words it is a: "group of men who were called *Hrvati* by their neighbors, or who chose the name for themselves; a prestigious name also in other areas of central and eastern Europe".¹⁴ In the vast body of literature concerning European Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages the present author has never come across a similar case of a 'group' choosing its name or being named in this mysterious way.

The way Borri builds his arguments and arrives at conclusions deserves a few more words. While Pohl argued that the Croats were "developing ... [into] ... an ethnic group only in the ninth century", Borri "suggest(s) that we should date this process even later". He then observes: "Constantine wrote in the *DAI* about a Croatian victory against Bulgars: does this event represent the formation of a new elite on the Dalmatian edges of the Bulgar kingdom? Perhaps the confrontation with Bulgars was the first attestation of this group of men".¹⁵ In the footnote he explains: "There are two episodes mentioned by the *DAI*: one may be dated to the second half of the ninth century, a second to the first half of the tenth", and then he points his reader to a book by Daniel Ziemann.¹⁶ In reality, Ziemann speaks only of *one confrontation* during the reign of

that he never read the cited paper (however Borri reiterates this statement once more on p. 230). Barada (1952: 9–10) himself saw Croats as an old *gens*, or rather 'congeries of tribes', belonging to the Slavic-Antes group, settled "from Saale, across the upper Elbe and upper Vistula all the way to the valley of Dniester". In his opinion the Avars on their way to Pannonia hit the Croats and set them in motion so that the fully formed *gentes* acted like billiard balls. As is evident from this, Barada argued in the opposite way to Pohl and it is impossible to see in his ideas any 'anticipation' of Pohl's ideas.

13 Borri 2011: 228.

14 Borri 2011: 230. In the footnote to this statement (n.102) Borri does not corroborate it in any way, so we do not know where and why this name was 'prestigious' and how the author arrived at this conclusion. He however curiously references his reader to the well-known text of Frederick Barth (1969). Although the text does speak about "fluidity of the ethnic process" and "the interdependence of neighboring identities", on this exact spot it looks more like a 'mantra' than an argument corroborating statement in the main body of the text.

15 Borri 2011: 230.

16 Borri 2011: 230 n.101.

Boris-Michael.¹⁷ What is even more significant is that the text of the *DAI*, in the chapter (31) that renders the ‘story of the Croats’, is itself quite unambiguous: “Nor has the Bulgarian ever gone to war with the Croats, except when Michael Boris, prince of Bulgaria, went and fought them and, unable to make any headway, concluded peace with them, and made presents to the Croats and received presents from the Croats”.¹⁸ This happened in the 850s or 860s and in the eyes of the author that event was definitely of decisive importance. Borri simply states that the *DAI* “reports as decisive” only the second battle, one that is in fact reported *not* in the “story about Croats” but in the “story about the Serbs”. There the anonymous author who wrote both chapters of the *DAI* in question (ch. 31–32) is also more than precise. He speaks about Bulgarian expedition in Serbia during the reign of ‘tsar’ Symeon, led by “Kninos and Himmikos and Itzboklias”, and lists the successes of the army. At the end of that segment of the text he simply adds: “Now, at that time these same Bulgarians (sc. *those that were so successful in Serbia*) under Algotour entered Croatia to make war, and there they all were slain by the Croats”.¹⁹ It seems that the author speaks here about a specific detachment of the original army unit, a detachment that was not under the command of “Kninos and Himmikos and Itzboklias”. It appears that they returned to Bulgaria, leaving some minor commander in charge with the objective of pursuing Serbian refugees in Croatia. However, historians usually see this expedition as unrelated to the war in Serbia, partly because it was well known among contemporaneous Byzantine authors. It probably deserved notoriety because many or ‘all’ of these Bulgarian soldiers were killed and the fact was widely known, but thanks to that, it is even possible to date it with some precision to the year 926 or 927.²⁰

What Borri has accomplished through his argumentation is only to invoke the dilemma: either his knowledge of relevant facts is partial, or one might think that the conclusions impacted his interpretation and choice of sources,

17 Ziemann 2007a: 351.

18 *DAI*, 31.60–64.

19 *DAI*, 32.117–28.

20 Dvornik *et al.* 1962: 136 (details of the expedition and its notoriety). That commentary by itself vividly illustrates all the ambiguities surrounding the work of modern ‘national historians’ who try to compose convincing narratives out of the shreds of evidence scattered in quite different and disparate sources. National narratives composed in this manner seldom dovetail one to the other almost in the same manner as the early modern cartographic representations produced through the process of ‘national triangulation’ never dovetailed into homogenous cartographic representation of Europe because they were not commensurable. On the subject of cartographic ‘national triangulation’, see Turnbull 2000: 116ff.

instead of the opposite. Now, to corroborate that the chosen event was of decisive importance the article notes that the “battle, which *DAI* reports as decisive, is also mentioned in the *Life of John X* contained in the *Liber Pontificalis* surviving in the *Korčulanski kodeks* [Codex of Kurzola] dating to the 12th century”.²¹ It is rather problematic that this source does not speak of *any battle*. It simply states that pope John x “made peace between the Bulgars and Croats”, but it also explains that he did it through his legates, “bishop Madelbert and duke John”. However, the text of the source does not stop here. This same sentence provides another piece of information, namely that the pope “composed Church dogma in Dalmatia the way it previously was and thanks to that the Croats were made permanent tributaries of St Peter”. The sentence in fact renders in the shortest possible way the whole file containing the conciliar acts of two Church synods held in Split in 925 and 928.²²

In a paper published two years earlier Borri cited two editions of the conciliar acts, which included the letter of pope John x addressed to the ‘King of Croats’ Tomislav and the ‘Duke of Chulmians’ Michael.²³ The conciliar acts and the papal letter among them are really preserved in a 16th century manuscript but the entry on pope John x in the *Codex of Kurzola* from the 12th century definitely corroborates their much earlier existence and consequently their authenticity. The problem with the papal letter, as well as with all other conciliar acts, is that they shed a totally different light on the early history of the ‘Croats’ and their newly formed political-administrative unit called ‘Croatia’. As of 925 a Croat polity was so consolidated that it needed the hierarchically organized church instead of the ‘missionary bishop’ (*episcopus Croatorum*) that functioned at least from the 860’s. Its ruler, who adopted the title of king, was able to control all of the former coastal *castra* functioning now as episcopal seats, with the exception of Zadar.²⁴ The list can go on and on, but it is not the subject of the present paper. All that is needed here is the conclusion that precisely at this time a Croat polity reached such a level of maturity and

21 Borri 2011: 230 n.101.

22 *Johannes X. sedit annos XII, menses II, dies VI. Hic fecit pacem inter Bulgaros et Chroatos, per legatos suos Madelbertum scilicet episcopum, et Johannem ducem, et composuit in Dalmatia ecclesiasticum dogma ut primitus fuerat, cuius beneficium gratia Chroati sancto Petro effecti sunt tributari in perpetuum* – Foretić 1956: 30ff. with the photographic reproduction of the original text ‘folio 55v’ and interpretation of the text.

23 Borri 2009: 37 n.68. In later paper (2011: 222 n.72), the relevance of the letter is dismissed with the qualification that it is “surviving ... in a very late copy”.

24 The bishopric of Zadar is the only one among the coastal bishoprics in medieval Dalmatia whose territorial dioceses stayed confined to the territory under the rule of the city’s authorities (*Astarea*). The fact is explainable if it is taken into account that the city remained out of the political reach of Croatian rulers until mid-11th century – Ančić 2009.

stability that it started to be perceived as 'Croatia', at least by its neighbors and in Constantinople, where such practice was more relaxed.²⁵

All of this shows how Borri's central idea, developed from an old statement of Pohl, and the arguments used to corroborate it, do not correspond to the sources the modern historians have at their disposal. However, even such a misplaced picture of historical processes and misinterpretation of sources has found its way into the international scholarly arena and was even welcomed there. In 2011 Borri received the annual award of the journal *Early Medieval Europe* for his paper on 'White Croatia', analysed above. This award, as well as Borri's affiliation with the Viennese Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, gives 'food for thought' concerning subjects such as 'control of discourse', 'the locus of knowledge production', 'neocolonial discourse', and at the same time also on the subject of the specific introversion and lack of communication with the dominant discourses in world scholarship which Croatian historians and historiography acutely suffer from.

It is not my aim on this occasion to delve into these subjects. What I rather want to emphasize here is that, even disregarding the patronizing stances discussed earlier, it must be admitted that the old 19th century ideas of massive migrations of fully formed *nationes* are completely out of date. Nowadays, we can be quite sure that they were mainly devised to provide the starting point for a 'national history', in the same way that European historians of that age, in the words of Karl Ferdinand Werner, 'killed the Roman Empire' in order to have the beginnings of their own 'national histories'. But in discarding those 'old stories', we must be very careful not to "throw the baby out with bathwater".²⁶ What this means in practice is that we have to seek the most convincing explanations for those facts that seem to be unquestionable. If there is a recorded story about migration and that story contains such facts, then we have to seek the answers to questions such as when, why and how some

25 On the outside perception of the polity that will in time become known as 'Croatia' in the 9th century see Dzino 2010: 192ff. Venetian chronicler, John the Deacon, who wrote his *Chronicon Venetum* around 1005, corroborates change of perception of Croatia among its neighbors in the first half of the 10th century. He possessed and used some unknown and lost written source that provided him with a lot of information regarding the eastern Adriatic in the 9th century. When he renders the story about journey of Peter, the son of Venetian Doge Ursus Particiacus, in 912 he uses for the first time Croatian name in the geographical sense (*Chroatorum fines*) – *Chron. Venet.*, 23.4. From that point on he uses as rule the name "Croat" in numerous combinations. For the perception of the imperial center in Constantinople the case of *DAI* may be illustrative – it shows that here the names of the *ethnie* were easily transferred into geographical names: 'Croats' – 'Croatia', 'Serbs' – 'Serbia', etc.

26 Paraphrasing here the title of influential article of Anthony 1990.

parts of those populations became migratory. In other words, if the contemporaneous sources such as the *DAI* claim that Croats and Serbs were neighbors east of the river Elbe and that a part of those populations still populated those parts of the world in the 10th century, it is necessary to elaborate the type of migratory movement, to analyse the starting point and the terminating point of the movement, and to recognize the agent able to provoke, organize, lead and control the movement. Obviously there is also a question of how and why the story about migration was recorded and here Borri provides only a partial answer.²⁷ Negating any possibility of migrations just because such ideas imply nationalistic discourse may lead to the situation in which ‘X and Y kill each other and both kill Z because of the medieval past’, which seems to lead only to a dead end.

Trying to find answers to all those questions with regard to the ‘arrival’ of the Croats in Dalmatia, over fifteen years ago our small team that devised and elaborated the exhibition “Croats and Carolingians” managed to fully agree on one main point. What we called the ‘arrival’, and what was later elaborated into something completely different from the ideas deeply ingrained in the narrative of the ‘Croatian national history’, could be most convincingly explained in the context of the Carolingian expansion on the eastern and southeastern flanks of Charlemagne’s Empire, and creation of a specific frontier-society. What was missing in that explanation and what later became, explicitly or implicitly, the main contention point was the fact that the Carolingian sources do not speak about any Slavic migrations at the end of the 8th or the beginning of the 9th century.²⁸ The argument goes according to a simple logic: if those sources do not speak about them, then there were no such migrations. However, history is not a field where such simple logic prevails. The contemporaneous Carolingian sources we have at our disposal are those produced in the political centre of the Empire. If and when they speak about what happened on the Empire’s eastern and southeastern frontier, it is always highly ideologically charged and closely connected with the actions and interests of that political centre.

For example, a story about the rebellion of the *dux* of Lower Pannonia, Liudevit, found its way into the *ARF* and was deemed worth recording only when the two punitive imperial campaigns failed to produce the anticipated results. The whole story was written down only once the problem was resolved. Moreover those sources never provide any historical explanations – when the story about Liudevit’s rebellion is rendered, he and his opponent Borna,

27 See also the discussion of this story in Ančić 2010 and Dzino 2014b.

28 See this line of criticism by Bilogrivić, in this volume.

dux of Dalmatia and Liburnia, are portrayed as some kind of institutionalized imperial officials with Roman titles.²⁹ In the picture that was textually projected they were seen as the heads of the Roman provinces and not as the chiefs of *gentes*. The anticipated audiences of the *Annales* probably knew the reality behind those titles but the modern historian is left in the dark and has to make 'educated guesses' in regard to the history of the institution and the way it was created. All of this goes to provide a convincing explanation of why the Carolingian sources do not give full and clear information about those, however still presupposed, migrations. To put it simply: they were not of such order and importance to deserve mention in the few contemporaneous texts produced in the Carolingian political centre. However, we can see at least a hint about what was going on in the curious information provided by the *ARF* under the year 796. Here, the name of a certain *Wonomyrus Sclavus* is mentioned in a context that portrays him as an important part of the campaign against the Avars organised by Eric, duke of Friuli. As in the case of Borna's and Liudevit's titles, anticipated contemporary audiences probably knew who Wonomyrus (probably *Vojnomir*) was and why he was so important as to deserve a mention in the annual entry. To us on the other hand Vojnomir could be whatever we want to see in him.³⁰ For a convincing explanation a thorough context has to be provided: one that concatenates that information neatly in a string of facts. In my opinion, the most convincing explanation would be that which sees Vojnomir as the leader of one of those bands of Slavophone warriors the Carolingians recruited among the populations residing east of the river Elbe. In order to test this conjecture, I will closely examine the extant sources, leaving aside the expanding corpus of archaeological material on this occasion on account of limitations of both time and space. In doing so I will attempt to disentangle the threads of the preserved 'stories' and see if a larger picture might be formed by tying together their 'loose ends'.

If the expedition that Vojnomir took part in is closely scrutinized, some unexpected facts emerge which shed new light on the role of the 'Slavs' that are usually connected to his name. First, the facts pertaining to the expedition in 796, rendered with most detail in the *ARF* and *AL*, point to the conclusion that this was not a major military expedition – Eric, duke of Friuli, organized it but he did not lead it directly.³¹ Although it is not possible to fully corroborate

29 *ARF*, s.a. 819–823.

30 For different opinions on the identity of Vojnomir see Štih 2010: 132, 160.

31 *ARF*, s.a. 796: *Heiricus dux Foroiulensis missis hominibus suis cum Wonomyro Sclavo in Pannonias hringum gentis Avarorum ... spoliavit ... thesaurum priscorum regum multa secularum prolixitate collectum domno regi Carolo Aquis palatium misit* (word for word same text in *AL*, s.a. 796). Historians frequently change the date of the first raid and looting

such a statement, it seems that the Carolingian authorities received information about mounting clashes inside the ruling circle of the Avar Qaganate, probably through one of the leading figures of that polity, official called the *tudun*. His messengers spent some time at the royal court in 795 delivering the offer of their master to recognize Charlemagne as his master and even receive baptism. In response to this flow of information Eric, as a marcher lord closest to the Qaganate, organized an exploratory detachment and sent it into the action. Upon arriving in *Hunnia/Avaria* leaders of the detachment, obviously not so strong as to be able to engage in offensive action, found themselves at the centre of a 'civil war' that resulted in the deaths of two other leaders, *qagan* and *iughur*.³² Probably only seizing the opportunity Frankish forces took by surprise the seat of Avar power, the *hring*, and retreating from Avar lands back to Friuli carried away the largest part of the immense treasure piled there. The booty or larger part of it was now as an act of duke Eric sent to Aachen together with the news about the collapse of the Avar empire. In response, Charlemagne ordered his son Pippin to organize a proper military expedition with forces drawn from Italy and Bavaria which found a partially consolidated Avar polity with a new *qagan*, elected in the meantime. Nevertheless this obviously more serious expedition reached the *hring* and collected there what was left of the immense treasure.³³

of the *hring* from 796 as rendered in *ARF* into 795 on account of not so convincing arguments, such as e.g. Ross 1945: 217–18; Štih 2010: 215. However it is hard to imagine the transportation of immense booty from the *hring* on the left bank of the Danube to Friuli, and then from Friuli to Aachen, during the winter months of 795 and beginning of 796. On the other hand, if the raid resulting from a brief reconnaissance mission took place at the end of winter 796, then it is possible to imagine its arrival in Aachen somewhere near the end of April. This time frame nicely accords with what is known about the expedition of king Pippin in *Avaria/Hunnia* later in the same year. Charlemagne's son had a few months to organize his force and was probably ready to start his operations by the end of the summer. If he spent a few months on the move, during which time he twice sent messengers with news about the campaign to his father, it was still possible for him to arrive in Aachen well before Christmas because two of them spent it there together.

- 32 All of this information, including the statement about *civilis bellum*, are rendered in the text of the *ARF*, s.a. 795–796, but not arranged in a reasonable temporal sequence. My temporal arrangement is different from one proposed by Collins 1998: 95, who otherwise (89ff.) discusses at some length Frankish relations with Avars, as well as the function of the *tudun* (pp. 96–97). See somewhat different and more detailed discussion of the Frankish 'Avar wars' in Bowlus 1995: 46–58. Most of his conclusions are in line with my argumentation except those relating to the 796 expedition.
- 33 Pippin's expedition is covered by narration in the *ARF*, s.a. 796, while the information regarding participation of Italian and Bavarian forces is rendered in 'revised' annals (*ARF*, s.a. 796, p. 99). For a useful correction of the picture of the Avar wars painted in the written sources, based on the archaeological record, see Takács 2018.

What is clear from this is that role of the Vojnomir at first loomed large in the narrative in the acquisition of immense Avar booty – although a ‘Slav’ (*Sclavus*), it was his personal name that was connected with the heroic feat. Whether he was in fact in charge of the whole reconnaissance mission or not,³⁴ it was obviously known among those ‘who counted’ that his role was instrumental in the acquisition of the immense booty, and that is the reason why his name is recorded in the *ARF* and *AL*. However, and the text of the *ARF* is in that sense puzzling, it seems highly improbable that the aim of the mission was from the start the Avar *hring*. If it was, it would be highly unlikely that such an important expedition would have been entrusted to someone without social standing. Glorious deeds marshaled social recognition among the Franks and willingness to appropriate it even clouded on occasion sound thinking.³⁵ That the expedition against the Avar *hring* was indeed a glorious feat worthy of the greatest names and royal pomp is quite clear if we remember that it was, after the first looting, formally entrusted to Charlemagne’s own son Pippin. In his entourage were such figures as the patriarch of Aquileia Paulinus and the archbishop of Salzburg Arn, who in their own way demonstrated the importance of the expedition by holding the Church Council on the banks of Danube.³⁶ Even the memory constructed around the act of the first taking of the *hring* in the ruling Carolingian circle and expressed in a host of different annals and other texts, confirms this conclusion. Already in the ‘revised’ version of the *ARF*, compiled some years after the first raid of the *hring* was accomplished, Vojnomir’s name was dropped from the story, being overshadowed by the social standing of duke Eric’s memory.³⁷ Later on, the story about storming the

34 The idea that Vojnomir was in charge of those whom duke Eric sent out to *Avaria/Hunnia* with the explicit mission to raid the *hring* is now generally accepted – Štih 2010: 132, 160, 215; Collins 1998: 95; Bowlus 1995: 55.

35 Instructive in this sense is the case of three of Charlemagne’s high officials – Adalgiso *camerarius*, Geilone *comes stabuli*, and Worado *comes palatii* from 782. They were on the specific occasion faced with a dilemma concerning whether to wait for Theodoric *comes* and Charlemagne’s relative who commanded the detachment of Ripuarian Franks and then engage together Saxon forces, or to start the battle without him. They had *conloquim* between them and decided, out of fear that the glory of victory would go to Theodoric (*ne ad nomen Theoderici victoriae fama transiret*), to engage the Saxons on their own. The result of that decision was the total defeat of the Frankish force and the deaths of Adalgiso and Geilone. The whole story is in detail, and probably as a ‘historical lesson’, rendered in the ‘revised’ version of *ARF* – *AQDE*, s.a. 782; discussed from different angle in Bachrach 1983: 183.

36 *Conventus episcoporum at ripas Danubii*: 172–76; Bratož 1998.

37 The ‘revised’ version of the *ARF* speaks about *magnam partem thesauri, quem Ericus dux Foroiulensis spoliata Hunorum regia, quae hringus vocabatur, eodem anno regi de Pannonia detulerat* – *AQDE*, s.a. 796. On the different opinions regarding the time frame

hring changed profoundly as is illustrated by the case of the text known as the *Conversio Bagariorum et Carantanorum* composed around 870. There the story about the first storming of the *hring* becomes almost unrecognizable. It is now Charlemagne himself who sends Eric on the expedition with the explicit task of the 'extermination' of the 'Huns'. He himself sends an 'immense multitude' of men with Eric and that 'multitude' is the reason why there is no resistance on the part of the Avars. Finally, there is no booty in this story, only the annihilation of the Avar polity effected through the recognition of Charlemagne's rule.³⁸

What does all of this tell us about *Wonomyrus Sclavus*? Apart from the fact that he was able to transform an almost routine reconnaissance mission into *Avaria/Hunnia* into an heroic deed, he remains an enigmatic figure. It seems highly improbable that he was some 'Slavic prince', as Slavs living in the vicinity of the Friulan march at this time were still largely under Avar sway.³⁹ There remains a possibility that he was a person of local extraction who managed to attain a distinguished position in the entourage of duke Eric as was proposed by Pohl.⁴⁰ However, to me it seems more probable that Vojnomir was the leading figure among those Slavs that precisely at this time were settled in Istria serving the Frankish governor of the province, a certain *dux Iohannes*. Those Slavs are for the first time mentioned in a well-known document regarding the *Placitum* of Rižana held in the presence of royal *missi* presumably in 804. The document analyzed by historians on numerous occasions, registers a list of complaints lodged by the local notables regarding what they saw as wrongdoings of the provincial governor.⁴¹ Among other complaints, one that is of special concern in this context refers to the recent colonization of Slavs on lands that the governor had chosen for the new inhabitants of the province. What strikes one most when analyzing this complaint is the fact that the

of the 'revised' *ARF* see McKitterick 2008: 27ff. For the Eric's activities, social standing and memory constructed after he was murdered in 799—Ross 1945: 217ff.

38 *Conversio BetC*, ch. 6: *Igitur Carolus imperator anno nativitatatis domini DCCXCVI Aericum comitem destinavit, et cum eo immensam multitudinem, Hunos exterminare. Qui minime resistentes reddiderunt se per praefatum comitem Carolo imperatori.* Štih 2010: 160 n.139 acknowledges the difference among later versions of the story but does not take into account the passing of the time and the social dimension of memory that affected subsequent renditions of the story.

39 Štih 2010: 130.

40 Pohl 1988: 319.

41 On different editions of the text see Žitko 2005: 153–55. Useful remarks crucial for the understanding and interpretation of the document are to be found in Härtel 2005; Albertoni 2005. Štih 2010: 212–29, discusses at length the complexities of the local historical context of the *Placitum*, see also Basić, Štih and Jurković in this volume.

newcomers received very special treatment – for three years they were sustained by Church revenues, namely the compulsory tithe. This obligation of the lay people delivered in natural produce, otherwise newly brought to Istria by the Franks, was directly channeled to colonists, whom the duke settled on what were previously ‘common’ lands.⁴² Here it must be added that bishops or some other Church official did not lodge this complaint, and even more importantly the Church under Frankish government from ca. 788 was far better off than during the Byzantine rule. This change is easily illustrated by one of the complaints registered during the diet, that points to the fact that in earlier times lay people in the service of the Church (*familia ecclesie*) showed deference in the presence of the lay notables to the point that they never presumed even to be seated in their presence. However, under the new government, officials and servants of the Church changed their conduct and by the time the *Placitum* was held were readily using force against those same people whom they earlier deferred to.⁴³ Although the complaints of the notables implied that colonization of the Slavs was something done in the duke’s own interest and even against the interests of Christianity at large, as the colonists were pagans, this interpretation was not accepted by the royal *missi*. They in fact accepted the interpretation given in the duke’s answer to the notables’ allegations. In his answer the duke pointed out that the colonists were there to stay because they were brought in for the ‘public utility’. At the same time he conceded the possibility that some rights of the notables were infringed in the process of settling the colonists and promised to amend those infringements, but only if the allegations were proved through special inquest.⁴⁴

42 *Placito*, 66.11–13: *P(er) tres uero a(n)nos illas Xmas quas ad sanctam ecclesia(m) dare d(e) buimus ad paganos Scavos eas d(e)dimus, qu(an)do eos sup(er) ecclesiar(um) et populores terras nostra(m)s(!) misit i(n) sua peccata et nostra p(er)ditione*. For the different interpretations of the nature of ‘common lands’, where the Slavs were settled, by lay notables and the duke, cf. Margetić 1988: 130–32; Levak 2007: 83–89.

43 *Placito*, 60.19–21: *familia ecclesie nu(m)q(uam) sca(n)dala c(om)mittere aduersus liberu(m) ho(mi)nem aut ced(e)re cu(m) fustib(us) et iam nec sedere ante eos ausi fuerunt. Nu(n)c aute(m) cu(m) fustib(us) nos cedunt et cu(m) gladiis seq(u)u(n)tur nos. Nos uero p(ro)pter timore(m) d(omi)ni nostri no(n) sumus ausi resistere ne peiora acrescat*. Eight complaints of the lay notables mirrored changes in the position of Church to their detriment – *Placito*, 58.10–60.25; Ferluga 1992: 182.

44 The duke’s answer to the allegations about the colonization of the Slavs runs as follows: *De Sclauis aute(m) unde dicitis, accedamus sup(er) ipsas terras ubi resed(e)nt et videamus ubi sine vestra damnietate valeant resid(e)re, resid(e)ant: vbi uero vobis aliqua(m) damnietate(m) faciu(n)t, siue d(e) agris siue d(e) silvis vel roncora, aut ubicu(m)q(ue), nos eos eiciamus foras. Si vobis placet, ut eos mittamus i(n) talia d(e)serta loca ubi sine vestro da(m)no vlaena c(om)manere, faciant utilitatem i(n) publico, sicut et ceteros populous* (*Placito*, 66.27–33).

The acceptance of the duke's interpretation of the colonization by royal representatives raises two important questions in the context of the present discussion. The first one concerns the 'public utility' of the colonization of Slavs, and whether it had something to do with the aforementioned Vojnomir. The second one is the origin of the colonists. The answer to the first question is, as far as known sources shed light, closely connected with the situation in the province of Istria after the Frankish conquest in 788. Even the *Placitum* of Rižana shows that upper stratum of local society was after fifteen years of Frankish rule far from being happy with the new order constructed during that time. They felt overburdened by military service and their material rights were endangered under the treat of violence. At the same time they lost what was perceived as self-government, losing in the process together with the privileges even the esteem of the local community, given they were treated as ordinary folk. The result was utter despair, so that in 804 they were on the brink of open rebellion,⁴⁵ while the image of the earlier Byzantine rule in their discourse was painted as a kind of 'golden age'. Although Istria is seldom mentioned in the extant sources, mirroring the perceptions of the political center, there is one source that at least gives a hint as to how this situation was perceived in the royal circle. That source is the *Annals of Metz* where the sojourn at the royal court of patriarch of Grado, Fortunatus, in 803 was noted, but with an unexpected twist. Fortunatus, who interceded on the royal court on behalf of the Istrians as their metropolitan, in the text was called 'patriarch of the Greeks'.⁴⁶ Now, the portion of the *Annals of Metz* with this information was compiled probably in 806 by someone 'interested in and familiar with the royal court'.⁴⁷ Taking that into account, it would not be too risky to conclude that this sentence mirrors the perception of the royal court, where at this specific time the designation 'Greek' definitely carried a notion of animosity, after the war with the Byzantines in the Adriatic.⁴⁸ This does not naturally mean that relations between Istrians, or rather the Istrian elite, and the Franks, or rather the ruling stratum, were strained all the time since the conquest of the

45 That is the meaning of the message formulated in the written forma as: *Si nobis succurrit dominus Carolus imp(era)tor, possumus euad(e)re, sin aute(m) melius est nobis mori, q(uam) vivere* (*Placito*, 66.17–19).

46 Fortunatus' role in the events that finally led to the *Placitum* of Rižana is portrayed by Krahwinkler (2005: 66–68), who reproduces the sentence from the *Annals of Metz* that runs: *venit quoque Fortunatus patriarcha de Grecis[!] afferens secum inter cetera donaria duas portas eburneas, mirifico opera sculptas.*

47 Hen 2000: 176–77.

48 Bachrach 2002: 319–23 ('intelligence gathering' that could provide basis for attitudes of the royal court); Ančić *et al.* 2018 (the confrontation with Byzantium in northern Adriatic).

province. The crisis in those relations, resolved at least partially in 804, was definitely the cumulative result of beliefs and loyalties of real people, as well as moves and actions produced by them on both sides during the fifteen years. As far as is possible to ascertain from extant sources the first test for those relations occurred three years after the conquest, in 791, when the Istrian military detachment took part in the Frankish expedition against Avars under the command of king's son Pippin. If Charlemagne's words in the famous letter to his wife Fastrada written shortly after the first clash of Frankish and Avar forces somewhere on the southwestern fringes of Pannonia are to be accepted, it seems that the Istrians did very well in the battle.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, and it has to be highlighted, the perception of military commanders who oversaw the battle need not be the same as that of the soldiers themselves. It may be that the *dux Histrie* sent his men as frontline forces in the battle and they did well under the circumstances. That however does not mean that they were happy with that, especially as at the same time the government was possibly infringing on their material rights and social standing at home. Deterioration in the relations between the local elite and governing structure must have started early on, and it is right there that the need for the colonists emerged. Istria being a border province, with Byzantine forces in the neighboring Tarsatica (modern Rijeka),⁵⁰ any signs of disloyalty or publicly expressed sympathies for the Byzantine rule were definitely dangerous signals. It is precisely in those circumstances that bringing in the colonists, as a kind of 'counterweight' to the disgruntled local elite, may be seen as an act of 'public utility' from the perspective of government. However, to act as social counterweight under these circumstances those colonists would need to fulfill a few prerequisites. In the world of the early Middle Ages, they would need to be able to use force, or in other words they would need to, at least partially, be 'specialists in violence' in order to act as policing and eventually as a military force. The colonists would need to be shorn of local roots and interests and at the same time tied closely to governing structure. Finally, they would need to be either paid or provided with land in order to support themselves.

From what was stated earlier, it is clear that Slavophone colonists referred to in the act of the *Placitum* fulfilled more than one of those prerequisites. As their denomination *Sclau* clearly shows they were strangers in the local community. Upon arriving in Istria it was precisely the government that

49 The sentence *Ill. dux de Histria, ut dictum est nobis, quod ibidem benefecit ill. cum suis hominus* (*Caroli Magni Epistolae*: 528 ll.24–27) does not leave room for any doubt regarding the comportment of Istrians.

50 Ančić 2018: 27, 29.

provided land for them as a means of sustention. For three years, and that was time needed to convert land into a full blown resource, they were sustained with the help of the government, more precisely governor, who channeled the compulsory tithes towards them. However, one enigmatic formulation in the complaint of the Istrian notables regarding the Slavs is open to interpretation in the sense that intervention of the governor did not stop with what was already said. In order to fully comprehend what was said during the *Placitum* and afterwards written down in the document the whole passage must be closely analyzed. According to text the royal envoys asked about forcible acts of the duke, and the answer started with a statement about the duke's forcible appropriation of 'common' lands. After they enumerated what was taken away from them, the notables, at least according to the text, started to complain about the Slavs in this way:

Moreover, he (*the duke*) located the Slavs on our lands (*those that he took away from them*); they (*those Slavs*) plow our lands and (*even*) those that were not previously tilled, they lawn our meadows, they bring their animals to our pasturages, and from those lands they pay tribute to the duke John. Moreover, we are left without oxen and horses, and if we say something, they (*Slavs*) say that they will kill us.⁵¹

Whatever was really said during the *Placitum* it was definitely not said in such a short and articulate form. On the other hand, it is highly probable that the meaning of the contention was preserved in the written document. That meaning leaves little room for interpretation – in the interaction with the natives the Slavs acted violently, probably forcibly taking what they needed and the governor backed them up in that. All of this right away shows quite clearly that colonists were closely tied to the governing structure. At this point it remains open only whether they were, at least partially, 'specialists in violence', and the violent attitude of the colonists that arises from the content of the written document is as good a clue as there could be. If the aforementioned *Wonomyrus Sclavus* belonged to those Slavophone colonists in Istria, even that dilemma would be resolved, especially if we remember that the duke of Istria was under the command of the duke of Friuli, who was instrumental in launching the expedition that reached the *hring* in the spring of 796.

51 *Placito*, 62.8–12: *insup(er) Sclauos sup(er) terras nostras posuit; ipsi arant nostras terras et nostras ru(n)coras, segant nostras pradas, pascunt nostra Pascua, et d(e) ipsas nostras terras reddunt pe(n)sione(m) Ioa(n)ni; insup(er) non remane(n)t nobis boues neq(ue) caballi; si aliq(uo)d dicimus, interimere nos dicunt.*

As attractive as this conjecture is, it cannot be proven beyond reasonable doubt. In order to provide at least some arguments that would corroborate it, it is necessary to address the question of from where the colonists came to Istria. It seems highly unlikely that they were some 'local Slavs', that came to Istria during the 7th and 8th centuries and settled there, now engaged by the duke in order to fully develop unused lands.⁵² The arguments that speak against this conjecture are numerous and it would be far off the mark to engage in enumerating them. If, on the other hand, the colonists were brought from the outside, as already argued, then they were really kind of a social counterweight and by default should have been 'specialists in violence' who were on good terms with Frankish authorities. In that case, there were not many suitable Slav communities providing potential colonists, and they all lived beyond the eastern borders of the Empire, across the river Elbe (Laba, *Albim*).

Close engagement of the Carolingians with the Slavic world east of the Elbe dates to the last quarter of the 8th century and is connected with the long war against the Saxons, a subject thoroughly researched and analyzed by numerous historians. Among the Slavs, or to be more precise among the Slavophone population, living on the eastern bank of Elbe, Charlemagne found allies who were ready to engage the Saxons. Some of them, like the Abodrites living between the Elbe and the shores of the Baltic, developed strong and lasting ties with the Franks, who finally 'accepted them in their company'.⁵³ But it was not a one way street – taking one Slavic group for allies meant that the other group(s) became an enemy(ies) and in that way the Franks were drawn into the world of Slav politics with far-reaching consequences. Those far-reaching consequences were only recently fully researched and analyzed from different but complementary angles by Peter Heather, Christian Lübke and Ludomir Lozny.⁵⁴ According to the last one of them, who is basing his conclusions exclusively on the archaeological material and anthropological parallels, social change provoked at first by the entrance of the Franks in this world led to the emergence in the late 700's of "a complex multi-agent dissipative polity ... a region-wide network of similar in size and construction ringwall forts and accompanying villages".⁵⁵ The development of this complex social system

52 The argument fully developed by Levak 2011.

53 With hindsight the author of the 'revised' *ARF* described relations between the Franks and Abodrites in one sentence: *Nam Abodriti auxiliaries Francorum semper fuerunt, ex quo semel ab eis in societatem recepti sunt* – *AQDE*, s.a. 798. On the Abodrites see Zaroff 2003, as the first comprehensive study of the subject in English.

54 Heather 1997; Lübke 1997; Lozny 2013; 2017.

55 Lozny 2013: 1. Although Lozny does not cite works of Heather and Lübke, it is hard to believe that he did not read them, if only because his conclusions are closely related to theirs.

avored concentration of power in some focal points and produced distinction in social statuses, visible among other forms in the emergence of warriors and military leaders.⁵⁶ Incessant conflicts, if not provoked then surely amplified by the Frankish interventions after 780,⁵⁷ left traces in the written sources produced in the Frankish world. It was not long before the Slavic warriors appeared for the first time in Charlemagne's army,⁵⁸ a signal that they had become fully-fledged 'specialists in violence'. Conflicts among them had their winners, but also losers, and it is highly probable that the latter provided suitable candidates for the colonization of the far flung border province of Istria. At this point however the possibility of reasonable conjecture based on convincing arguments ends.

The merit of this small case study of Slavophone migration into Istria at the end of the 8th century, if indeed it has any, is that it provides certain elements needed to outline the pattern that will be visible in the later migrations. However any attempt to analyze those later migrations must take into account changing circumstance after the collapse of the Avar Qaganate in Pannonia or during the full-blown war between Charlemagne and Byzantium along the Adriatic coast and in its hinterland. The collapse of the Qaganate left a political void in Pannonia and opened up unheard of possibilities of looting for the emergent warrior stratum in the lands east of the Elbe. It is not hard to imagine the legends constructed around the booty found in the *hring* – those legends acted as magnets regardless of their authenticity. On the other hand the war between two empires, or between two halves of the still one and 'only' Empire,⁵⁹ was conducive to the process of 'state building' from the skirmishes especially on the Frankish side. Those different sets of circumstances affected 'description' as well as 'interpretation of reality' on the part of the Frankish ruling stratum and, almost needless to say, actions that rose from those intellectual operations.

On the other hand any future analysis of the world of migrating communities must start from the highly visible similarities between the forms of social organization and conduct in geographically very distant places. Despite all the reservations about the possibility that early medieval (mostly Frankish)

56 Lozny 2013: 75.

57 It was precisely in 780 that Frankish sources for the first time recorded Charlemagne's ordering the 'Slavic affairs' – *ARF*, s.a. 780; *AQDE*, s.a. 780.

58 Slavic warriors from two *nationes*, the Serbs and Abodrites, participated in the Frankish army as distinct units for the first time in 789, during the expedition against another Slavic *natio*, Veleți or Wilzi, as they were called by the Franks – *ARF*, s.a. 789.

59 Ančić 2018.

chroniclers were able to decipher the realities of the Slavophone world, and write down realistic descriptions of it,⁶⁰ one out of many similar examples would in my opinion suffice to show that procedures involving comparisons should not be easily discarded. When in the mid-9th century the so-called 'Bavarian Geographer' drew his brief description of the world beyond the Elbe his main categories in an effort to describe 'the forms of joint actions in social alliances exceeding the family ties' were *regio* and *civitas*.⁶¹ The former was the territory of the social unit usually called 'tribe' comprised of an indefinite number of *civitates*. Those on the other hand "should be considered as forms of settlement" comprising a stronghold and an also indefinite number of open settlements connected to the stronghold through various social ties.⁶² If we now go back in time, to the beginning of the 820s, we would find very similar categories employed by the author of the *ARF* in an effort to describe the socio-political reality of the 'Serbs', who at this time lived at some distance from the southeastern borders of the Carolingian Empire. This *natio Soraborum* lived at that time distributed in *civitates* and every one of them had its own *dux*. The author does not speak explicitly about their *regio* but instead tells his readers that 'they, as it is related, had obtained a large portion' of the former Roman province of Dalmatia.⁶³

If the anonymous author of the *ARF* and the 'Bavarian Geographer' really employed the same categories in an effort to describe a world that was strange to them we should obviously speak about 'mental schemes', but the real and important question would be whether and in what way this 'mental scheme' corresponded with the reality they were trying to describe. In my opinion this correspondence was far greater than one existing between that reality and mainly fictitious stories collected in the famous *DAI*. In accordance with this line of thinking I am quite certain that close examination of the extant sources, including obviously the *DAI*, together with posing new questions in the analysis of the archaeological record, will shed not necessarily new, but a different

60 See the reserves voiced by Urbańczyk (2010: 357) concerning 'the Frankish/Saxon authors', who "naturally sought in the distant and somehow mysterious "North" structures and institutions similar to those characteristic of the post-Roman civilization".

61 Lübke 1997: 117.

62 Lübke 1997: 118–19.

63 The original text runs as follows: *quae natio* (sc. *Soraborum*) *magnam Dalmatiae partem optinere dicitur*. The other part of the text continues the main line of story concerning the flight of duke Liudevit (*Liudewit*) before Frankish forces. Upon reaching the territory of the Serbs, Liudevit *uno ex ducibus eorum, a quo receptus est, per dolum interfecto civitatem eius in suam redegit dicionem* (*ARF*, s.a. 822).

light on the Slavic (Slavophone) migrations around 800. Additionally, it is important to note that exploring the idea that the social change was produced by, among other things, migratory movements does not of itself automatically lead one into the waters of nationalistic discourse, as was implied by some of the reactions to the ideas produced some fifteen years ago.

The Products of the “Tetgis Style” from the Eastern Adriatic Hinterland

Ante Milošević

1 Introduction

Several early medieval swords, typologically similar to that of the type Petersen K, were recently discovered in modern-day central and northern Dalmatia (Zadvarje, Koljani-Slankovac, Vaćani, Škabrnja). In earlier publications, I have argued that these swords should be dated to the last decades of the 8th or early 9th century, and that they were produced in workshops based in northern Europe, due to typological comparison of similar swords from the Nordic countries.¹ The sword discovered in Zadvarje has, on its cross-guard, the engraved letters.... ERTUS, a frequent ending found in Germanic names thus preserving on the sword, the ending of the name of the sword-maker. The sword has also a Christian cross engraved upon it, a detail also present on the sword from Koljani. These crosses might appear unusual, if we are considering these swords as northern European products, as at that time, Christian iconography was not widely present in northern Europe, where Christianity was negotiated with local beliefs for a long time.² Nevertheless, such a detail is certainly not challenging the idea that they were produced in northern Europe, as it is well-known that western workshops were producing artefacts to fulfil orders from remote areas. For example, monasteries around Rome were producing ‘Slav’ fibulae,³ whilst artefacts with characteristics of western Europe in the form of early-Carolingian characteristics were found in S. Vincenzo in Volturmo.⁴

This interpretation of the mentioned swords being of northern origins, challenges the dominant paradigm of the origins of early Carolingian-era swords from the eastern Adriatic coast and its hinterland. The dominant explanation suggests that such weaponry was produced in the Rhine valley,

1 Milošević 2016, cf. Milošević 2012a; 2000b.

2 Carver 2005; Berend 2007: 73–213.

3 Arena *et al.* 2001: 175.

4 Mitchel 1994: 129–31. See also Hodges in this volume about S. Vincenzo in Volturmo.

the economic and political core of the Carolingian Empire, and then spread to the eastern Adriatic area.⁵ Such an opinion, rarely challenged or questioned in local Croatian scholarship, should be seriously reconsidered and critically examined using each individual example of Petersen K-type swords from this area.

The appearance of these presumably Nordic products in the eastern Adriatic hinterland, necessitates a debate that would reveal the reason why they appeared and the mechanisms that provided their movement. Whilst this is certainly an open debate, some explanations can be sought in the study of Viking trade. The Vikings had already, after 795, started to establish trade networks in central and eastern Europe profiting from the ban on the export of weapons outside the Empire issued by the emperor Charlemagne. Another possibility remains that the swords appeared as a consequence of population movements by Slavophone warrior groups at the end of the 8th century. This idea seems to be more convincing, at least to the present author, when the status of the existing evidence is considered. The argument for such a thesis, that implies these K-type swords arrived in the Adriatic hinterland at the same time as these new warrior groups, including the group called the 'Croats', was presented through artefacts exhibited at the exhibition "Croats and Carolingians" in 2000/2001.⁶ It is sufficient here to remind the reader that Ančić's interpretation of contemporary written sources in the catalogue of this exhibition discussed at length the creation of new social networks extending from the communities inhabiting the valleys of the rivers Elbe and Vistula to the eastern Adriatic hinterland. The establishment of those networks, which also included the movements of small warrior groups from the Baltic shores can be reliably connected with the Viking raids on the European continent beginning around 795 and contemporary Avar wars that Charlemagne's armies fought in the 790s in Pannonia. It is likely that one of those groups might have been the Croats, who during the 9th century established a polity in the areas of the eastern Adriatic hinterland. The passages from the *DAI* imply that the Croats remained to live in their old homeland, "beyond Bavaria", and are "subjects to Otto, the King of Francia or Saxony" (i.e. Otto I, who was at the time king of Germany and duke of Saxony).⁷

Such an explanation provides a reliable historical context for the earlier mentioned hypothesis about the northern European origins of the swords from Koljani, Škabrnja and Vačani, as well as one made by master... ERTUS

5 Vinski 1981; Bilogrivić 2009. See also Bilogrivić in this volume.

6 Milošević 2000a; Bertelli *et al.* 2001.

7 *DAI*, 30.61–62, 71–75; Ančić 2000: 73–76; 2016. See also Ančić in this volume.

from Zadvarje – all located in immediate eastern Adriatic hinterland. Ančić's hypothesis explains that those swords might have arrived exactly at that time through new social networks and communication routes developing in the Carolingian eastern frontier zone. The images of crosses on those swords indicate the possibility that those new groups, including the Croats, had already been baptised before arriving in Dalmatia.⁸ The direction and extension of those networks confirms the discovery of an identical sword in Mikulčice in the Czech Republic.⁹ Spatial dispersion of the Petersen K-type swords in the eastern Adriatic hinterland corresponds with the directions of the Roman roads that offered suitable direction for building and maintenance of new social networks. In addition to the weapons, it is important to add contemporary finds of artworks containing zoomorphic art of the European continental areas, which accord with the argument about restructuration of social networks and migratory population movements in the late 8th/early 9th century.¹⁰

In certain ways, these artefacts, that are the main topic of this paper, are comparable to the ornaments present on the sword handle from Haithabu. The decoration on this sword hybridizes zoomorphic and Christian motifs, presenting a visual expression and iconography which negotiates existing northern pagan traditions of animalistic realism with Christian symbolics. This is exactly what we see on a belt strap-end from Gornji Vrbljani, discussed below, where we have on one side animal motifs framing the Old Testament formula that "calls upon heavenly armies", and on the other side the information that it was made by the 'smith' Tetgis, whose name is of Germanic origins.

2 The Artefacts with Germanic Animal Style in the Adriatic Hinterland

It is still not clear from where, when and in which ways the artefacts with zoomorphic ornamental designs appeared in the eastern Adriatic hinterland. Joachim Werner and Zdenko Vinski assumed their western European/ 'Germanic' origins from the workshops north of the Alps. They connected the

8 It would be useful to recall here information from the 13th century, transmitted through Thomas the Archdeacon of Split, who mentions that the Croats settled in Dalmatia as "Christian-Arians", *HS*, 7 (p. 38–39). Some Croatian historians, such as for example Miho Barada (1940: 415–17) though this to be reliable historical information, but with explanation that the Croats arrived in Dalmatia in second half of 7th c., rather than in last decade of 8th c., as argued here.

9 Košta 2005: 160–62, 172, pic. 2, 9.

10 Milošević 2016: 212–15, pic. 10.

appearance of those artefacts with the intensification of the contacts between the eastern Adriatic area and the Carolingian empire. This is loosely dated to the second half of 8th century.¹¹

One of the most representative artefacts with zoomorphic ornaments is a gilded belt set from Mogorjelo (Fig. 5.1), which consists of a belt-buckle with plate and strap-end in two parts, discovered in the round turret of the Mogorjelo *castrum* located in lower stream of the Neretva river, close to the site of ancient Narona. This is one of the most luxurious known artefacts decorated in the Germanic animal style. Analogies to the Mogorjelo belt set are numerous and concentrate in the Friesland, Saxon areas as well as Thuringia and the Rhine valley. Outside of those core areas, similar finds are very sporadic. According to Werner, this is the product of central European workshops from the second part of 9th century. In possession of a local magnate with a seat in Mogorjelo, it might have come in the late 8th century.¹² In the Mogorjelo *castrum* near the round turret was also discovered another gilded belt strap and Petersen K-type sword. This other belt strap in shape resembles the letter U, which is not unusual for Carolingian artworks from the 9th century (Fig. 5.2). However, the Mogorjelo belt strap has also a bud-like extension, which is not present in Carolingian examples. This displays a lack of quality of craftsmanship with somewhat stiff-looking geometric ornaments. U-shaped strap-ends with bud-like extension are characteristic of what Werner describes as ‘South Slavic’ areas,¹³ so he assumes that the artefact is either locally made or it was an Italian product from the 9th century made as a local interpretation of the Carolingian templates.¹⁴

The strap-end with zoomorphic ornaments from Medvedička (Novo Virje – south of the river Drava in Pannonia) is an especially important find as it is found in a closed archaeological context. It was a part of a funerary assemblage that also contained an iron knife, axe and sword (Fig. 5.3).¹⁵ The sword belongs to the Petersen H-type, in a more precise typological classification

11 Werner 1959; 1961; Vinski 1977/78.

12 Werner 1961: 239–41.

13 The early Carolingian strap-ends from the eastern Adriatic hinterland discussed by Werner should be supplemented with two recent finds. The first is a decorated bronze strap-end with traces of gilding discovered in the elite grave from Brekinjina kosa near Glina (I wish to thank Krešimir Filipec for this information), with analogies to the specimen dated in the 9th century from Bonnefantenmuseum in Maastricht – Schulze Dörlamm 2009b: 174–75, pic. 17.4. The other belt-strap made of silver, decorated from both sides in an elongated U shape was discovered in Lake Peruča near Koljani cf. Milošević 2016: 218, fig. 14.1.

14 Werner 1961: 237–38.

15 Vinski 1977/78: 177–85, T. 10–11, 16–17.

made by Alfred Geibig.¹⁶ It has a narrow blade and crossguard; its pommel and crossguard are decorated with inlaid brass-wire. It is assumed that this sword is the product of the Viking workshops from the second half of the 8th century, and the presence of an axe in the grave typologically close to central-northern European 'Slav' axes might connect those finds with the already mentioned networks appearing between the eastern Adriatic hinterland and northern Europe. The presence of a belt strap-end indicates the burial of an elite individual who, in the view of Vinski, might have been a participant of Charlemagne's Avar wars.¹⁷ The belt-strap was not a product of the craftsmanship displayed in luxurious specimens from Gornji Vrbljani (Fig. 5.6) and the belt-set from Mogorjelo (Fig. 5.1). On the front side are visible two fields with well-made zoomorphic motifs, and on the rear side the animal-style decoration is thicker, divided into four fields and very difficult to recognise. There are also interesting geometric motifs of small hatched triangles in the specimen from Medvedička. This is unusual, as the majority of other similar finds have every second triangle hatched, such as the specimen from Gornji Vrbljani. Possible analogies to the specimen from Medvedička appear almost exclusively in north European sites. This resembles several strap-ends from the Netherlands and a specimen from Ingelheim.¹⁸ The basic form, layout and the way the ornaments are made on both sides is very similar to the strap ends from Ingelheim and Rossum.¹⁹ The decoration on the front side can also be compared to the cup from Fejø (Denmark),²⁰ and zoomorphic decorations on the rear side are similar to the motifs from a cup from Pettstadt (Germany), which is assumed to be a product of northern European workshops in the 8th century.²¹

A geographically separate find of a bronze gilded strap-end decorated with zoomorphic motifs (Fig. 5.4a) was discovered in the ruins of the large *castrum* Sipparis (Sipar near Novigrad/Cittanova) in Istria which is today largely below sea level.²² The strap-end is poorly preserved due to exposure to saline sea water, but on the plate one can easily recognise an elegantly made interwoven image of an animal that resembles several similar belt-straps from

16 Geibig 1991: 18.

17 Vinski 1977/78: 184–85.

18 Wamers 1994b, list 2, no. 4 (Belgium, unknown site), no. 18 (Dorestad), no. 83 (Fredericks); Stiegemann & Wemhoff 1999: 466, no. 7.26 (Ingelheim).

19 Wamers 1994b, list 2, no. 66 (Rossum); Stiegemann & Wemhoff 1999: 466, no. 7.26 (Ingelheim).

20 Wamers 1994b, list 2, no. 25; 2005c: 88, pic. 31.

21 Wamers 1994b, list 2, no. 58; 2005c: 88, pic. 32.

22 Marušić 1995: 113, no. 489; Milošević 2000a: 2.71, no. 1.61.

central and northern Europe.²³ At the same site another decorated belt-strap with a diagonally placed quadrilateral rosette was uncovered, similar to a U-shaped belt-strap from Mogorjelo, which can be easily connected with early Carolingian influences on the Istrian peninsula (Fig. 5.4b).²⁴

It is also worth mentioning a cast bronze circular shield-shaped fibula, also from Sipar with partly preserved blue, green and red Champlevé enamel. In the middle of the fibula is an animal depicted in the contours of the highly raised tail and head leaning backwards surrounded by curly and geometric decorations (Fig. 5.5).²⁵ Most of the finds similar to this one from Sipar were discussed by Egon Wamers, who assumed that they should be dated to the 10th century.²⁶ A central motif of an animal from this fibula reminds one of older Germanic types and examples from early medieval sculptures in hinterland of eastern Adriatic (Fig. 5.15).²⁷ For that reason, in addition to the pearly sequence mounted on the outside rim of the fibula, we can see it as older than most of the comparable European finds and loosely date in 9th century.

The *castrum* of Sipparis was threatened by Arab pirates in the first half of the 9th century (819 and 842), and in the second half of that century was attacked by the Narentane pirates (864 and 887), and the Dalmatian-Croat *dux* Domagoj (876).²⁸ The earlier mentioned early Carolingian finds and several devastations caused by different invaders in the 9th century witness that Sipparis, as with other *castra* in western Istria, including one on the Veliki Brijun island where Carolingian coins have been found, were important centres. Apart from Sipparis, Domagoj's raid also attacked Novigrad/Cittanova and Umag, and it cannot be excluded that some of the stylistically and chronologically similar finds from the south, as one from Mogorjelo, could have been the part of the booty from those raids.

23 Poorer craftsmanship and poorer preservation of the specimen influenced M. Schulze Dörlamm to include it amongst 15 examples of, what he calls the "degenerated style of the Tassilo Chalice". He also wrongly states that Sipparis is located in modern-day Slovenia, Schulze Dörlamm 1998: 146.

24 Marušić 1962: 168, T. 6/10; Milošević 2000a: 2.71, no. 1.62.

25 Marušić 1995: 114, cat. no. 496.

26 Wamers 1994b: 77–81 (map on p. 78), with older literature.

27 Milošević 2003a.

28 *Chroniche veneziane antichissime*: 122–23. About Siparis or Sipparis in ancient sources see Križman 1997: 366, 368, 370.

3 Tetgis Belt Buckle and the Artefacts from the Deeper Adriatic Hinterland

The earlier mentioned Tetgis belt buckle from the *castrum* in Gornji Vrbljani located over the springs of Sana in the Adriatic hinterland (what is today western Bosnia), is one of the best quality specimens in Europe, especially in regards to craftsmanship (Fig. 5.6). It was cast in bronze, gilded in fire, with silver inlay plates which have on one side zoomorphic motifs framing an Old Testament quote. The silver plate on the other side provides the name of the craftsman – master Tetgis.²⁹

In Europe more than 100 artefacts with ornaments stylistically similar to the Tetgis belt buckle have been found. These include Tassilo's Chalice and older covers of the Lindau Gospels with somewhat different zoomorphic motives.³⁰ The largest concentration of finds of those artefacts is in the confluence of lower streams of the Rhine and Elbe, so that the scholarship has assumed that the workshops which produced those artefacts were located there.³¹ The scholarship has defined this style in different ways, most frequently as examples of *Insular style with continental characteristics*, or as objects with Germanic animal style motifs. The resurfacing of this style in the mid-8th century is usually interpreted as an attempt by a 'Germanic' population to establish their own political block as an opposition to the Frankish-Roman Christian influence, a kind of Germanic *renovatio*.

Certain elements of clothes and jewellery, especially those worn on prominent spots, are very suitable tools for individuals and groups who felt the need to advertise their own identity, especially in times of rapid social and political change. Frequent and recognisable use make those artefacts a 'style', which functions as a vehicle for expression of identity within a defined social construct by strengthening the sense of common belonging and marking the members of the social group in interaction with the 'Other'.³² 'Style' thus becomes a material reflection of the social construct and its aesthetics turn into a recognisable visual medium for shared ideological and spiritual values of the social group. It has been justifiably argued that the most influential role

29 Vinski 1977/78: 144–57.

30 Schulze Dörrlamm (1998: 133, 143–46) lists the localities with finds of metal artefacts and stone sculptures with zoomorphic ornaments in the style of the Tassilo Chalice.

31 Wamers 1994b: 159–74.

32 There is abundant literature on this topic – see especially: Wiessner 1991; Suzuki 2000; Swift 2004; Jenkins 2004; Curta 2005; Hunter 2007, etc.

in the development and spread of a 'style' was played by social elites. They used it to legitimize social dominance, while transmission and spread of the 'style' enabled elites to manipulate and control processes of social change.³³

Use of animal ornaments originated in 5th century Scandinavia from where it spread in the 6th and early 7th century to the British Isles and European continent as a symbolic visual representation of shared elite ideology. On the European mainland, after the mid-7th century, it became less prominent but continued developing in Scandinavia. The re-surfacing of the Germanic animal style in the 8th century on the European continent represented a new way to visually represent elite identity by negotiating existing pagan traditions with the imperial ideological Christianity spread through missionary work. It is evident that the re-appearance of the Germanic animal style coincided with legitimization of the Germanic warrior elite that lived in the 'pagan universe' on the outskirts of Carolingian Christianity.³⁴ Therefore re-surfacing of the Germanic animal style in 8th century seems to have been a symbolic visual marker of new elite ideologies developing in the Carolingian frontier zone.

This intertwining of Christian motives and elite ideology rooted in its 'pagan universe' can be seen very clearly on the strap-end from Vrbljani. In such a context, we can see the use of zoomorphic ornaments from the second half of 8th century, as Wamers rightly noticed, not as an influence of missionaries from the British Isles, but rather as a phenomenon connected with the peculiar spiritual, cultural and political circumstances of the regions where the style was used.³⁵ Accordingly, we cannot see resurfacing of the Germanic animal style as a consequence of cultural and political influences coming from the Carolingian imperial core, as it is frequently explained, because imperial art was following ideological templates rooted in the processing of the Roman models (*renovatio imperii*). It is understandable that such a style, radiating from the empire was not emulated west of the Rhine, and individual finds displaying such a symbolics are quite sporadic in this area,³⁶ representing negotiation with imperial templates rather than their emulation (Fig. 5.7).

The period in which the Germanic animal style resurfaced in European art is significant as it coincides with the expansion of the Carolingian empire and creation of new frontier zones on its eastern borders. Therefore, it is understandable to see its fast spread, noticed most prominently on secular artefacts and luxurious metal parts of clothes, which provided a suitable outlet

33 Wells 2001; Hedeager 2011.

34 Hedeager 2000: 45–46, 50–52.

35 Wamers 1999: 3.460–64.

36 Žvanut 2002: 280–81.

for display of images that symbolised elite-identity. This style that we might see as authentic frontier-art, achieves its full affirmation in artefacts such as those in the Tassilo Chalice style from the second half of the 8th century. This was a visual expression of dominating narratives in the frontier zone – those of integration but even more those of resistance to the expansion of the Carolingian empire.³⁷

Charlemagne's expansion towards the east and the Viking raids from the north in the late 8th century created a new fluid imperial frontier zone characterized by general insecurity, population movements and establishment of new social networks. Social and political elites in this frontier zone, who utilized those valuable artefacts as symbols of identity and status, were probably the most important factor in their fast spread over a large area. Following the same argument, it is possible to explain the sudden disappearance of this style as part of the integration of those frontier communities and their elites with imperial power structures (see Štih, this volume). This integration changed the political and social circumstances created by the frontier zone and consequently the Germanic animal style, as the specific designation of frontier identity had no place in it.

Therefore, the artefacts made in the style of the Tassilo Chalice in a very short time became an ideological tool, and a recognisable symbol of frontier-elites from the fringes of the Carolingian empire. The scholars who argue for interdependence and a complementary relationship between material and written sources are certainly right.³⁸ The symbolic power of each style gained importance during periods of social and political upheaval, especially in the formation of fluid imperial frontier zones, where establishment and maintenance of new social relationships was most important. Spatial dispersion of the artefacts with Germanic animal style clearly shows this, giving us snippets of otherwise poorly known processes which resulted in the creation of a frontier zone on the Carolingian eastern frontiers, stretching from the Baltic to the Adriatic seas.

I argued in the catalogue for the exhibition "Croats and Carolingians" that Tetgis, who made the strap-end from Vrbljani, could have been the same craftsman who made the famous Tassilo's Chalice on account of undeniable similarities between the two (Fig. 5.8).³⁹ Gunter Haseloff defined a specific art-style in this period that he named after the Tassilo's Chalice.⁴⁰ Later scholars focused

37 Žvanut 2002: 281–83.

38 Høilund Nielsen 1997.

39 Milošević 2000b: 113–14; 2005: 255–56, pic. 13.

40 Haseloff 1951.

mostly on the search for analogies that would embed this style into a wider visual discourse of early medieval art, and the works of Wamers are particularly successful in that regard.⁴¹ He widened the repertoire of the style and included some artefacts that do not belong there, even only in regards to the repertoire of ornamental motifs. An example of these problematic associations with the style of the Tassilo Chalice is the so-called Censer from Cetina (Fig. 5.9),⁴² which except hatched triangles lacks the usual zoomorphic and floral ornaments.⁴³ Perhaps it would be more correct to rename the group of artefacts decorated with Germanic animal style from the second half of the 8th century as products of the 'Tetgis style' as the strap-end from Vrbljani is the only artefact which displays the name of the craftsman who made the artefact.

The strap-end from Vrbljani is an accidental find, but not the only one from this *castrum*, as it was found together with a contemporary bronze spur.⁴⁴ The strap-end belongs to a similar period in which several other finds from the deeper Adriatic hinterland are found, including the parts of horse harness from Rusanovići near Rogatica,⁴⁵ and an almost unique find of a bronze shield boss from a round shield found in Breza near Sarajevo that has no analogies from that period (Fig. 5.10).⁴⁶ The original shape can be reconstructed only from images on miniatures, sculptures and reliefs from the second half of the 8th and beginning of the 9th century, such as the images from the Church of

41 Wamers 1993; 1994b; 1994c: 116–17; 1999: 3.452–64; Wamers & Brandt 2005.

42 First time expressed in: Vinski Gasparini 1958: 100–01, supported by Vinski 1977/78: 164–65; Wamers 1999: 463; 2005c: 90–91.

43 The opinion argued by present author is that this censer from Cetina (also known as Vrljka Censer) does not provide enough of a sufficient indication to be included in the artefacts belonging to Tassilo's Chalice style. The absence of zoomorphic ornaments is an important detail, as well as composition of the decoration, polychromy caused by use of different metals and the technique of deep notching with gilding in fire. These techniques in goldsmithing were developed in Late Antiquity on a very wide area, especially amongst the artefacts ascribed to the Alemmani, Goths and Lombards. Elements for a further discussion are provided by the S-shaped hanging hook, tripple handle that ends with birds' heads and particularly intertwined small silver chains. This will be discussed in a forthcoming publication.

44 Milošević 2006.

45 Milošević 2013: 101–03, pic. 104.

46 Basler 1972: 60. Four decades ago it was argued that this shield boss looks like early Byzantine specimens, and from some analogies with the specimens from Nocera Umbra it was assumed that this was the product of workshops from the Byzantine Italy – Vinski 1982: 28–29. However, the shield boss from Breza has a different shape from those finds, and its decoration is also different, as argued in: Milošević 2011: 127–28, pic. 142.

St Martin in Pridraga, near Zadar (Fig. 5.11).⁴⁷ The dominant ornaments on the shield boss are pearl-shaped sequences and sequences of inlaid triangles that are arranged in a way that was used frequently in the early medieval period in other parts of Europe.

The shield boss was excavated in the remains of a building, whose foundations show the presence of a three-sided porch with vaults. The building had a room divided into two parts with a semi-circular apse on the southern wall (Fig. 5.12). The outer angles of the porch on the northern front are walled-up, and the staircase on the western side indicates that side towers or turrets were hoisted over those angular constructions with a gallery between them that served to provide access to an upper floor.⁴⁸ Similar architectural remains with apses and multisided porches in early medieval western architecture are interpreted as hunting houses or halls of local magnates (German *halle* or *hof*) built as part of castles or larger agricultural complexes (*curtis*). Such an interpretation of the building, except the earlier mentioned shield boss, accords with numerous sculptures of animal heads, especially large relief detailing the representation of a wild boar hunt that probably adorned the interior of the building, and the protomes with a boar or bear head adorning the outside wall of the apse (Fig. 5.13).⁴⁹ The secular character of Breza II is indicated by a fragment of male figure wearing military attire. It was cut in high relief, and originally stood on the wall in the interior of the building. (Fig. 5.13).

The graffiti scratched on large columns that belonged to the porch of this building, are particularly interesting (Fig. 5.14). They are mostly unreadable, with the exception of some scratching on one fragment of the column that could be read as a male name VERANVS, which was frequently used in Gaul.⁵⁰ On the other fragment of the column was probably scratched a female name, UTA (or Ute, originally Oda or Uota coming from Oðinn or Vōtan, i.e. Vuotan).⁵¹ On a fragment of another column a two-banded cross is scratched, the ends of which are decorated with spiral ornaments (volutes), which is typical for the 8th century, and on another are the remains of a graffito in a form of interlace

47 As e.g. the *Stuttgart Psalter* (fol. 158v) from 820–830, Wamers & Brandt 2005: 53.

48 This is so-called basilica Breza II, recognized in earlier scholarship as an Early Christian church, see literature cited in Chevalier 1996: 357–58. The re-assessment of the existing opinions was made in Milošević 2011: 125–32.

49 Milošević 2012b.

50 There are two saints named Veranus from Provence (fr. Veran, Vrain; ital. Verano). One (son of St Eucherius of Lyon) was bishop in Vence (451–492), and another in Cavaillon, where the cathedral was dedicated to him. He died in Orléans in 590. Close to the Italian-French border there is still the place named Saint-Véran (Province Alpes-Côte d'Azur).

51 Orel 2003: 437.

ornament, which is also interesting for the chronological assessment of the building.⁵² Particularly interesting is another graffito written with Germanic (Nordic?) runes.⁵³

The Germanic animal style in the early medieval art of the Adriatic hinterland is also reflected in stone sculpture of sacral buildings. There have been finds of capitals with such motifs, as well as fragments of an altar screen, where representations of animals very closely resemble those found on metal artefacts for everyday use, as discussed above (Fig. 5.15).⁵⁴ The quantity and quality of different art objects from the 8th century in the deep eastern Adriatic hinterland is impressive, but it is difficult to explain its historical context, as there are no historical sources for that period, and the geographical area overall, especially modern-day Bosnia, is very poorly excavated. There are various plausible explanations, and one of them is certainly that the Germanic animal style appears as a consequence of the creation of new networks and migratory population movements linking the Adriatic hinterland with northern Europe. These migratory movements might have included the presence of Germanic-speaking groups in the context of Charlemagne's Avar wars. Nevertheless, for a better understanding of this problem, only revision of older excavations or brand new excavations could provide more definitive answers.

52 Milošević 2011: 131, pic. 148.

53 Looijenga 1999: 272–75; 2003: 231–34, Pl. 17c (dating the runes in 6th century); Fischer, 2005: 66–67, 173–74, with approximate dating in 450–650.

54 Milošević 2000a: 2.205–06, no. 4.31 (fragment of small column from Biskupija-Crkvina near Knin); 2003a; 2003b (Bilimišće-Zenica church).



FIGURE 5.1 Gilded belt set from the round turret in Mogorjelo. Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo
©PHOTOGRAPH BY ANTUN Z. ALAJBEG



FIGURE 5.2 Gilded belt strap discovered near the round turret in Mogorjelo, reminding in shape to the letter U, Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo
©PHOTOGRAPH BY ANTUN Z. ALAJBEG



FIGURE 5.3 The strap-end with zoomorphic ornaments from Medvedička (Novo Virje – south of the river Drava in Pannonia), Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu
©PHOTOGRAPH BY ARHEOLOŠKI MUZEJ U ZAGREBU



FIGURE 5.4 Bronze gilded strap-end decorated with zoomorphic motives (5.4a), and decorated belt-strap with quadrilateral rosette (5.4b) from Sipar near Novigrad/Cittanova, Arheološki muzej Istre, Pula
©PHOTOGRAPH BY ARHEOLOŠKI MUZEJ ISTRE



FIGURE 5.5 Circular shield-shaped bronze fibula, also from Sipar with partly preserved blue, green and red Champlévé enamel, Arheološki muzej Istre, Pula
©PHOTOGRAPH BY ARHEOLOŠKI MUZEJ ISTRE



FIGURE 5.6 The Tetgis belt buckle from the *castrum* in Gornji Vrbljani, Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo

©PHOTOGRAPH BY ANTUN Z. ALAJBEG



FIGURE 5.7 Map of localities with finds of metal artefacts and stone sculptures with zoomorphic ornaments in 'Tetgis style' (after the information from Schulze Dörrlamm 1998: 133, 143–46)



FIGURE 5.8

The comparative drawings of the ornaments and letters from the Vrbjani belt-strap and Tassilo's Chalice. From Milošević 2000b: 113

©IMAGE BY AUTHOR

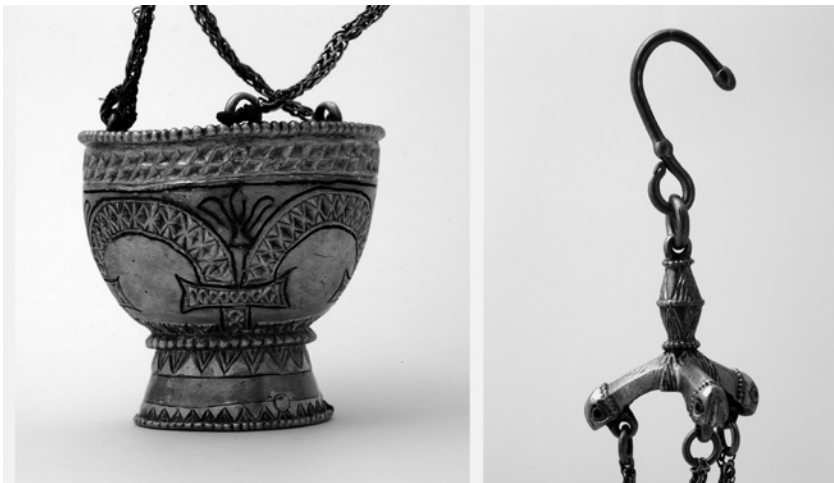


FIGURE 5.9 The Censer from Cetina. Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, Split

©PHOTOGRAPH BY ANTUN Z. ALAJBEG

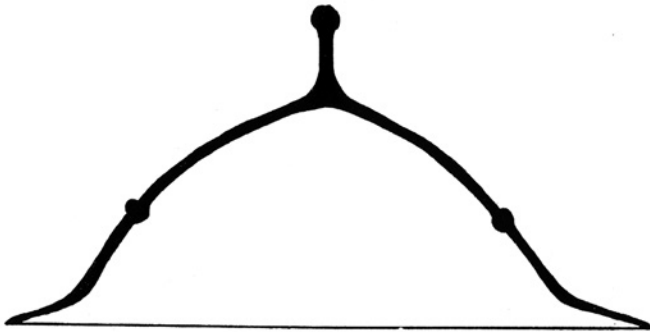


FIGURE 5.10 Bronze shield boss from a round shield found in Breza near Sarajevo. Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo
©PHOTOGRAPH BY ANTUN Z. ALAJBEG



FIGURE 5.11 Warriors with round shields and Carolingian weapons on fragments of altar screen from Church of St Marin. Pridraga, near Zadar, last quarter of 8th century. From Milošević 2000b: 323

©IMAGE BY AUTHOR

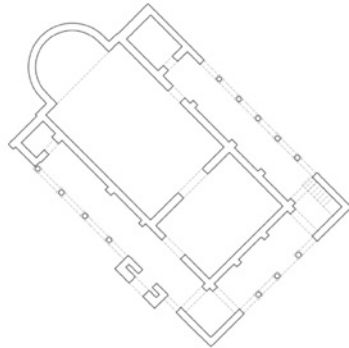
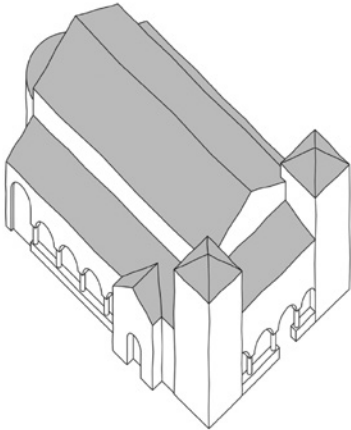


FIGURE 5.12 The building from Breza, so-called Breza II
©PHOTOGRAPH BY ANTUN Z. ALAJBEG
©AXONOMETRIC RECONSTRUCTION AND GROUND PLAN BY AUTHOR

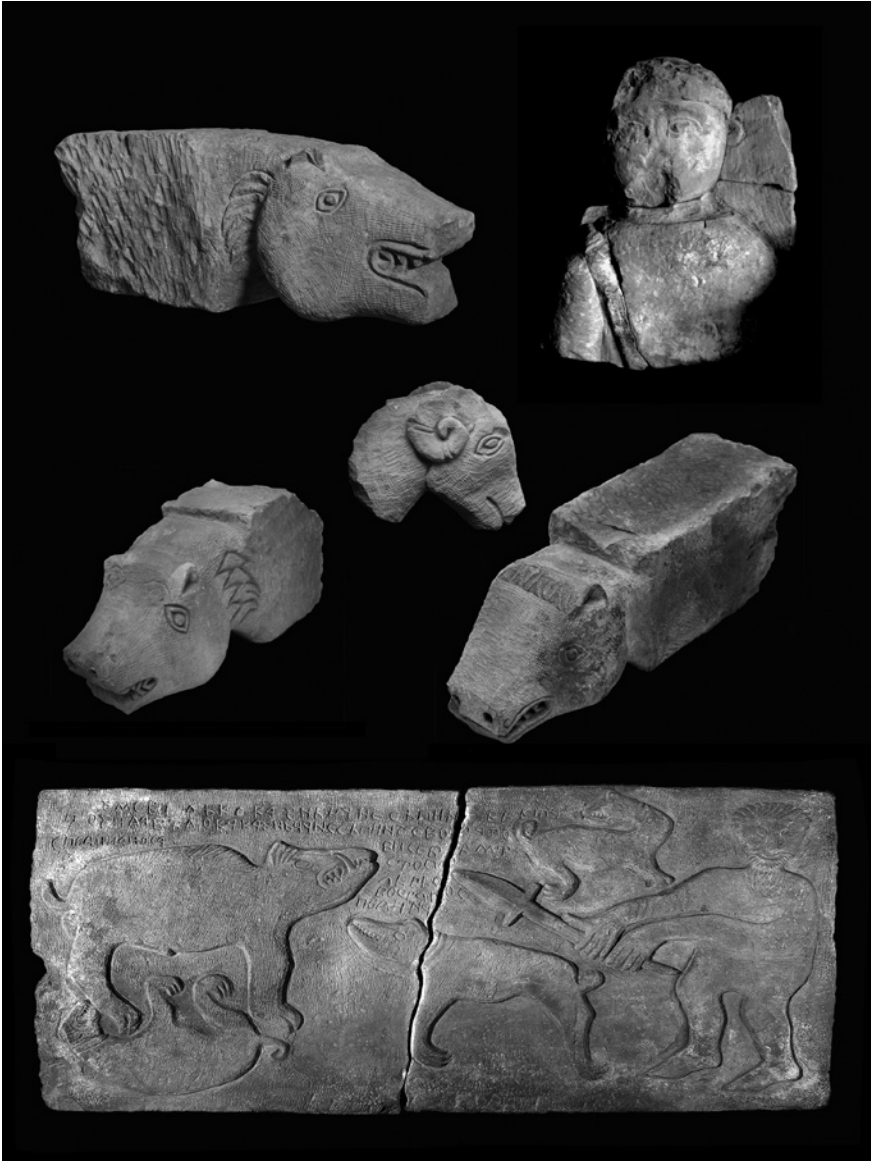


FIGURE 5.13 Breza II. **Above:** sculptures of animal heads and the protomes with boar or bear heads. On fragment (above right) is shown male figure in military attire. **Below:** Large relief with representation of wild boar hunt from Visoko, originally from Breza II. Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo ©PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANTUN Z. ALAJBEG

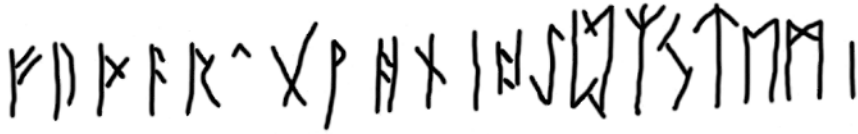


FIGURE 5.14 The drawings of graffiti from the column from Breza II building. From Milošević 2011: 131
©IMAGE BY AUTHOR



FIGURE 5.15
Upper row: column capital decorated with bird-headed snakes and the fragment of altar screen from Bilimišće-Zenica, church in Central Bosnia. Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo
Middle row: parts of the altar screen from Bilimišće-Zenica. Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo
Below: fragment of small column from Biskupija-Crkvina near Knin Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, Split
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Carolingian Weapons and the Problem of Croat Migration and Ethnogenesis

Goran Bilogrivić

The exhibition entitled “Croats and Carolingians”, along with its rich accompanying catalogue, thematised numerous aspects of Croatian – Carolingian interrelations.¹ One of those aspects was that pertaining to the question of whether the Carolingians may have possibly played a role in the Croats’ arrival to post-Roman Dalmatia. The original author of the thesis on the arrival of the Croats during the Frankish wars against the Avars is Lujó Margetić. In an encompassing article from 1977 he countered the paradigm of the arrival of the Croats shortly before or after the year 626, basing his arguments on a thorough analysis of the *DAI* and, to a lesser degree, reports from the Frankish annals on the final years of the 8th century.² According to Margetić, the migration would have taken place at the very end of the 8th century, following Carolingian orders and to their advantage in the wars against the Avars, and it was the chapter 30 of the *DAI* that recorded Croatian lore of the events most faithfully. The question of the homeland of the Croats, i.e. the territory from whence they would have come, did not concern the author much.³ The basis of Margetić’s thesis was accepted by Nada Klaić in her later works. She was of the opinion that the Croats took part in the wars against the Avars under Frankish leadership and so at the beginning of the 9th century arrived to Dalmatia from Carantania, taking over the territory previously held by the Avars and populated mostly by Slavs all the way from the 7th century.⁴ Apart from Klaić, this idea did not gain many supporters among historians. At the same time, during the 1980s, the end of the 8th century arrival thesis was stressed by certain archaeologists and art historians, but this was mostly as a point of interest and without further considerations or respective contextualizations of material culture remains.⁵

1 Milošević 2000a and Bertelli *et al.* 2001, with the same main texts in Italian.

2 Margetić 1977.

3 Several of the author’s most important articles on these topics are collected in Margetić 2001.

4 Klaić 1984: 253–64; 1985; 1990: 14–27.

5 Rapanić 1985: 12–14; 1987: 61–73. For a more detailed overview of the topic, see Bilogrivić 2010.

During the 1990s, the late arrival was mostly outside of scholarly and wider interest, with the dominant view being that the Croats had been present in Dalmatia since the 7th century, though at the same time theses on their Iranian, autochthonous and other ancient origins were flourishing. In the same period Margetić himself actually abandoned his own thesis, becoming steadily less convinced of the authenticity of the report in the *DAI* and connecting the (Proto)Croats with the 7th century Bulgarian ruler Kubrat (*Krobatos*). According to that view, they would have been a Turkic cavalry tribe given a frontier guarding role on the edges of the Avar Qaganate. The importance of a great migration was thus completely diminished.⁶

However, Margetić's basic theses were revived again in 2000, by the exhibition "Croats and Carolingians" and contributions in the accompanying catalogue. A detailed historiographic treatise was written by Mladen Ančić, who considers the Croat migration at the end of the 8th century to be a result of planned Frankish dispersion and settling of large Slavic warrior groups during the wars against the Avars.⁷ The author states that the Franks recruited various Slavic groups living at the eastern edge of their kingdom as allies, and that one of these groups would also have been the Croats. One of the starting points is the fact that Frankish written sources mention groups in that area, which also soon appear further to the southeast (Serbs, Abodrites). There are also similarities in toponyms and names of certain groups, such as Daleminzi/Dlamočani or *Hliuno* in the north with Glamoč and Livno in what is today Bosnia and Herzegovina. Numerous archaeological finds of Carolingian provenance would also supposedly reflect these migrations. The most numerous and thus the leading group would have been the Croats, who soon after spread their authority over previously immigrated Slavic groups present here since the early 7th century, but also over the others from the 'Carolingian' immigrant wave, thus annulling their independent political identity. It should be noted that Ančić, in contrast to traditional Croatian historiography, does not speak of a migration of an entire 'people', but instead views early medieval ethnic groups as more-or-less temporary alliances of warrior groups with the leading role of the elite, i.e. a certain kin community, which uses origin myths as one of the means for legitimating power and authority.⁸

Such an historiographic framework was also used in the interpretation of many of archaeological finds presented at the exhibition. In the following years

6 Margetić 2001: 200–14; 2002: 99–100, 121.

7 Ančić 2000: 74–84; 2016: 218–20, see also Ančić in this volume.

8 Ančić 2000: 77; 2008a: 39–50, 194. For the author's critical review of the fundamental narrative source containing such Croatian myth, the *DAI*, see Ančić 2010.

it was supplemented by new scholarly articles, written mostly by archaeologists and art historians, and through new exhibition projects brought closer to the wider audience.⁹ Several new archaeological finds, in the last decade or so, have been incorporated into this framework as new firm evidence for the Croat migration under Carolingian leadership at the turn of the 8th and 9th centuries, which, in turn, is considered a fact by some Croatian historians and archaeologists. Simultaneously, the view that the Croats migrated in the 7th century, is still a dominant paradigm amongst the majority of Croatian medievalists. It is interesting in this context to note the absence of a more thorough review of the theses presented by this exhibition until very recently.¹⁰ On the other hand, on an international level, the relentless discussion on ethnogenesis and early medieval identities has long since shifted its focus from the exclusive question of migrations to problems such as the use of origin narratives and material culture in identity-construction and communication, legitimization of authority, display of ancient traditions, etc. In the following pages I shall consider the basic postulations of the thesis of Croat migration to Dalmatia at the end of the 8th century, in the form it had from 2000 onwards, as well as the question of archaeological finds of Carolingian provenance in that context. In this way, I will attempt to examine in what capacity the thesis of the arrival of the Croats as Carolingian warrior vassals has stood the test of time over the last two decades.

Unlike Margetić, Ančić does not rely on the *DAI*, but primarily uses various Frankish written sources from the late 8th and early 9th centuries. Admittedly, the proposed migrations are never mentioned in those sources and it is also interesting that certain arguments of this thesis have in a way been disputed, and even refuted, long before the publication of Ančić's study. For example, three quarters of a century earlier, Ferdo Šišić wrote that the appearance of similar names amongst the groups in the north and the south is not in itself proof of a migration.¹¹ Nada Klaić similarly noted the appearance of identical or similar toponyms throughout the Slavic world, which are thus not necessarily indicators of migrations.¹² In his reaction to Heinrich Kunstmann's publications, Radoslav Katičić pointed out that the link between the Daleminzi (Dlamočani) and Dalmatia is principally only a verbal similarity, although Glamoč as a

9 E.g. Rauter Plančić 2006; Kusin 2007.

10 On the contrary, Margetić's article immediately encountered sharp and systematic criticism, which continued also in the following years: Suić 1977; Štih 1987: 530–35; Pohl 1988: 262ff.; Lončar 1992: 391–410; Goldstein 1992: 126–28.

11 Šišić 1925: 245 writes primarily of the Croats, but also mentions the Abodrites (*Bodrići*) in the same sense.

12 Klaić 1956: 97–98, n.84.

toponym in present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina could indeed be a slaviced form deriving from the Latin *Dalmatia*. Regardless, even if Glamoč could be connected with the Glomači/Glamočani/Dlamočani, according to Katičić, that would rather be an indication of a migration from Dalmatia northwards.¹³ He explains the naming of a Slavic group in the north as *Dalmatae* or *Dalmatii* due to the early medieval authors' familiarity with ancient Roman geography and that in such a way they showed "educated 'correctness'".¹⁴ Writing more recently and on an unrelated topic, Sebastian Brather considers the appearance of matching ethnic labels in various places (among them also the Croats and Abodrites) as reflecting possible connections over wider territories, rather than migrations of larger groups. He also notes the possibility of reference to 'prestigious names' in search of a certain tradition, whereby lore and familiarity of the name come to the fore, with no need for direct contacts or migrations.¹⁵

Contrary to those opinions, Margetić accepted Ančić's connecting of the names of Slavic groups and toponyms, considering that it convincingly showed the migration as such, but disagreed with its dating and circumstances. He stressed that these migrations were spontaneous and could have also taken place earlier, during the 7th and 8th centuries.¹⁶ Margetić also stated the possibly key deficiency of the thesis, the fact that there is no mention of the Croats whatsoever in Frankish written sources, and it is precisely them that would have been the largest and leading group.¹⁷ The same criticism had already been pointed towards Margetić's thesis by Ivo Goldstein, and it is certainly applicable to this case. Since Frankish sources systematically record events of larger importance for the state, it is very hard to believe that at least a mention of such significant migrations would be left out.¹⁸ In comparison, several sources record that in 804 Charlemagne ordered a mass forcible relocation of the Saxons into Francia following the end of the war against them, while in their place he settled the Abodrites.¹⁹ It is therefore odd that no organised southward migration of the latter is mentioned, especially since it would have occurred only several years previously. Taking into account the stated criticism of sources and toponyms, it can preliminarily be concluded that the thesis of

13 Katičić 1990: 229–31.

14 Katičić 1990: 237, n.11.

15 Brather 2004: 238. For the Croat name as one of such prestigious names see Pohl 2010: 16. Cf. also Borri 2011: 214–16 for the widespread presence of various groups called Croats.

16 Margetić 2002: 103.

17 Margetić 2002: 104.

18 Goldstein 1992: 127.

19 ARF, s.a. 804; *Reginonis chronicon*: 64–65; *Vita Karoli*: 10.

Croat migration under the Franks at the end of the 8th century actually does not have particularly firm foundations.²⁰

As stated earlier, after Margetić's initial publication, his thesis was accepted by certain archaeologists and art historians. Archaeological argumentation, i.e. the appearance of a large number of finds of Carolingian provenance on the territory of early medieval Croatia as an indicator of the migration, was used also by Ančić.²¹ It is important to notice, however, the complete lack of such finds in the southeastern Abodrite territory (present-day Vojvodina and its neighbouring areas), where they should, *per analogiam*, also be expected. If the migration was instigated and organised under Frankish patronage, then this is rather odd, to say the least. But let us return to Croatian territory. Supporters of this thesis usually support the opinion that there is a clear and marked continuity of the population from Late Antiquity through the 7th and 8th centuries, that inhumation row-grave cemeteries can be securely dated only from the late 8th century and that, adding to this, it is precisely the numerous Carolingian finds that indicate the arrival of a new population.²² Connecting Carolingian finds with the Croat migration is most vividly illustrated by the works of Ante Milošević on the newly-found Petersen type K sword from Koljani near Vrlika in the Dalmatian hinterland. The author links the sword from the site of Slankovac in Donji Koljani to the richly decorated type K sword from Haithabu in northern Germany (marked as Bb) and a group of swords of the same type which have been found in various parts of Europe and are decorated in a mutually identical manner, usually with a personal name carved on the upper side of the crossguard. One example from Croatia, that from Zadvarje in the hinterland of Omiš, is also a part of this group. The author presumes the same origin for all of these swords, with the workshops located somewhere in Viking Scandinavia.²³ The swords from Donji Koljani and Zadvarje would have originally come into the hands of Croat warriors

20 See the criticism also in Dzino 2010: 179–82; Budak 2015: 83; 2018a: 103.

21 Ančić 2000: 75.

22 Contrary to that, Vladimir Sokol dates all cremation burials as well as inhumation row-grave cemeteries only from the presumed time of the Croat arrival, i.e. the very end of the 8th century. Significant discontinuity arising from such a conclusion, that implies an absence of any finds whatsoever between the middle of the 7th and the end of the 8th centuries, is left unexplained – Sokol 2006: 108–09, 160–62; 2016: 92–93, 126–28, cf. criticism in Dzino 2010: 122–23. Recent datings of the finds and cemeteries of the so-called horizon with pagan burial characteristics (as well as cremation burials), whether through typological analyses, or ¹⁴C dates, definitely refute this viewpoint. Cf. Petrinc 2009; Alajbeg 2015 (cemeteries); Uglešić 2009: 146–47; 2016: 661–64; Gusar & Vujević 2012: 117–20 (¹⁴C dates in Dalmatia).

23 Milošević 2012a: 463–66; 2016: 214–17, see also his chapter in this volume.

while they were still in their presumed northern homeland, and then, shortly after, arrived with them into Dalmatia. Such a conclusion Milošević extends to other swords from local sites as well (at least to those of type K), but also to some other early Carolingian objects, such as the well-known bronze belt end from Gornji Vrbljani in Bosnia and Herzegovina.²⁴

However, it is precisely Petersen type K swords which are generally considered to be a characteristic product of Frankish workshops. Jan Petersen clearly stated that opinion while defining the type,²⁵ and it has been supported in subsequent decades by numerous authors up until today.²⁶ Although the possibility of local production of the same type of hilts according to Frankish models can not be eliminated, their primary Frankish origin and majority production within the Empire are indisputable. Furthermore, the closely interconnected group of type K swords with hilts decorated with inlaid thin silver bands and carved tendrils with trefoil or grape motifs clearly reveals a Frankish, early Carolingian origin.²⁷

Such an origin is further confirmed by personal names carved on the upper sides of the crossguards of five out of a total eight swords of this group, which are mostly considered to signify the craftsman who made or at least decorated the hilt.²⁸ The most frequent name, appearing in three cases (maybe even four, as this is also the common interpretation of the visible remains of the inscription on the Wallace Collection sword),²⁹ is HILTIPREHT, a name also

24 Milošević 2012a: 467–68; 2016: 218–19 and the discussion on the belt end from Gornji Vrbljani in this volume. It is fair to mention that the origin of this thesis is actually quite an old one. Karaman 1940: 28, wrote that Hungarian archaeologists considered the swords found in Croatia to be of originally Scandinavian provenance, arriving to Dalmatia via trade routes from White Croatia in the north.

25 Petersen 1919: 108–10.

26 E.g. Arbman 1937: 225–26; Vinski 1981: 18ff.; Steuer 1987: 153–56; Geibig 1991: 161; Jakobsson 1992: 43–44, 178; Wamers 1994a: 7–14; Martens 2004: 133–36; Marek 2005: 25; Hošek & Košta 2014: 248. Fedir Androshchuk (2014: 66, 169, 185–87) does not doubt the Frankish origin of the type, and especially of the early examples (his subtype K1), while he does advocate local Scandinavian production of his chronologically later subtype K3. Milošević had himself previously also supported the viewpoint that Petersen type K swords are originally Frankish, stating that they might even have been an ‘official weapon’ of the Frankish army. Milošević 2000b: 128–29. There is no reference to this claim in his newer texts.

27 Bilogrivić 2009 (overview of Petersen type K swords); Bilogrivić 2013: 68–71 (swords with hilts decorated with tendrils with literature); Pentz 2010: 115–27; Lennartsson 1997/98, esp. 447, 460–61 (the characteristic tendril decoration on Carolingian objects).

28 Bilogrivić 2013: 70; Moilanen 2015: 318. Androshchuk 2014: 179 considers such hilts to have been decorated by jewellers.

29 Oakeshott & Peirce 1995: 6ff.

recorded in the *Liber memorialis* of St Gallen. In this confraternity book, written before 817, names of living and dead members of 31 religious communities bound to the abbey through confraternity agreements are listed.³⁰ The names *Hiltipreht*, *Hiltibreht*, *Hiltepreht* and *Hiltebreht*, which are generally thought to be of a Frankish/High German origin,³¹ appear on several occasions.³² It is also very telling that, among other things, swords were produced in the abbey of St Gallen, as in some other abbeys, too – e.g. in Fulda and Lorsch.³³ The second name is HARTOLFR, for which the same origin is usually presumed, carved on a sword from Kilmainham, Ireland, and the third is only fragmentary, preserved in the form of ... A ... ERTU, on the sword from Zadvarje, Croatia. The latter is usually reconstructed with a Latin ending – US, and names such as Dagobertus, Haribertus, Garibertus, Madalbertus, etc. have been proposed.³⁴

Concerning the decoration of the hilts, the tendrils have been executed in an equal manner on almost all examples, with a grape or trefoil motif, and in five cases divided by a vertical line in the middle. Only the tendril on the sword from Gjersvik, Norway, differs slightly more. Pommel lobes are decorated identically on the swords from Kilmainham and Ballinderry, Ireland, similarly on the one from Elst in the Netherlands. The swords from Ballinderry, the Wallace Collection and Zadvarje also have decorated lower sides of their crossguards. In the first two examples it is a motif that has often been named ‘rabbit’s ears’, supposedly slightly visible also on the crossguard of the sword from Gravråk, Norway,³⁵ and a similar one is present on the side lobe of the Elst pommel. This motif can to a certain degree be compared to similar decorations on strap ends and loops of Carolingian spur sets from the Duesminde hoard on the island of Lolland in Denmark.³⁶ The Zadvarje sword has a carved anchor type cross on either side of the tang. Given all of the above, it is quite evident that these are swords (i.e. hilts) originating from the same workshop somewhere in (central?) Carolingian territory, and at least a portion of them

30 Costambeys *et al.* 2011: 306–07.

31 Mahr 1928: 247; Müller-Wille 1982: 144–45, n.92a.

32 *Libri confraternitatum*: 11, 23, 40. The name Hiltipreht is mentioned also in several places in relation to the abbey of Reichenau: *Libri confraternitatum*: 158, 186, 271. Cf. Bilogrivić 2013: 70–71.

33 Verhulst 2004: 78–79. It should be noted here that several years ago Anne Stalsberg (2008: 18–20) proposed a possible connection of the well-known sword blade signature +ULFBERHT+ precisely with early medieval abbeys.

34 Milošević 2000a: 2.357; Piteša 2009: 55.

35 Oakeshott & Peirce 1995: 6.

36 Schilling 2005: 133.

has probably been made by the same craftsman. It should be noted that another sword has recently been added to this group, a 19th century find from Stårby on the south of Sjælland in Denmark. Its hilt is also decorated by brass inlay and carved tendrils on the sides of the crossguard. However, these tendrils are significantly different than those on the other swords of the group. Despite the differences, the attribution of this sword to a Carolingian workshop was convincingly argued in its publication,³⁷ although the question of a tighter workshop connection is best left open.

The Haithabu Bb sword is also sometimes ascribed to the same group. However, it has tendril decoration only on the pommel lobes executed in a completely different manner, too. Actually, the only common motif is the anchor type cross on one of the side-lobes of the crossguard, corresponding with those on the Zadvarje sword. Silver band inlay is a too widespread decorative technique to be taken into account in this sense. Still, the Bb sword is also regularly interpreted as a Carolingian product. Moreover, according to some authors it could be explained as a direct gift from the Carolingian ruling elite to an important member of the Danish royal family.³⁸ Such an interpretation is symptomatic for Croatian examples of Carolingian swords as well, to which I shall return shortly.

Before that, it is necessary to take a look at the sword from Donji Koljani, which really does have some connection with the Haithabu Bb sword. Aside from the general affiliation to the same type and the thin band inlay, both swords have morphologically corresponding crossguards and pommel bases, with lobed sides. This is a very rare characteristic, known for example on a sword with a missing pommel crown, but originally also probably of the type K, from grave 151a of the Wiskiauten cemetery – present-day Mokhovoe, Kaliningrad.³⁹ The Koljani sword, however, does not have any motifs carved on its hilt, but instead hammered into the fuller on one side of the blade – a cross and a trefoil knot. The latter motif is also present on the upper side of the Haithabu Bb sword's crossguard, although executed somewhat differently. The Christian symbolic of the first motif is indisputable, while the knot could possibly be associated with the Trinity. That the motif could be of a Christian symbolic nature is supported by the fact that the same motif is often found in

37 Pentz 2010.

38 Cf. Wamers 1994a: 36–42; 2005a: 165–70; 2005b: 53–54; Pentz 2010: 133, 136–37.

39 von zur Mühlen 1975: T. 9/1, T. 36.

ecclesiastical contexts on small liturgical objects,⁴⁰ and on church furniture.⁴¹ The Christian symbolic link between these two swords is quite obvious, as is their Carolingian origin, which is indicated in the case of the Donji Koljani sword also by the belt strap end found together with it. Whether the swords are linked also by a common workshop origin is a different matter, one for which there is no space in this paper.

To summarise this argument, it is evident that the Carolingian origin of 8th/9th century swords from the territory of early medieval Croatia is quite certain. Such a conclusion does not directly contradict the archaeological argumentation of the thesis on the migration of the Croats under Frankish leadership but it also does not prove it. However, more and more cemetery analyses are showing that there is no visible discontinuity at the turn of the 8th and 9th centuries.⁴² On the contrary, the beginnings of some cemeteries can now fairly securely be dated to the first half of the 8th century, with burials most frequently continuing uninterrupted well into the first half of the 9th century.⁴³ The objects of Carolingian provenance have been found in some of those cemeteries, in graves whose general context does not differ at all from the others. Furthermore, some Carolingian finds from the territory of early medieval Croatia can be dated prior to the very end of the 8th century, showing possible longer contacts between this area and the Franks.⁴⁴ All of these point to a necessity for a different interpretation of the finds of Carolingian weapons and warrior equipment from the territory of early medieval Croatia.

If these were a case of trade, one could expect a wider range of objects, especially brooches, but also other utilitarian and decorative objects found in

40 For example, it occurs on a silver liturgical spatula with a gilt spoon-ending from Mainz (dated 8th/9th c.), on which four such symbols are placed around a central cross. Schulze-Dörrlamm 2009b: 190–91, Abb. 31. Likewise, on a silver bow-brooch with equal arms from Camon, dép. Somme, France (9th c.), which is not a liturgical object but also has four such symbols placed around a central cross motif on either of the arms, Schulze-Dörrlamm 2009b: 178, 181, Abb. 23/1. A matching symbol, only more elongated, is found on the upper side of the Haithabu Bb sword's crossguard. Taking into account the totality of Christian symbolics on its hilt, Wamers (1994a: 13) proposed a possible interpretation of this symbol precisely as a symbol of the Trinity.

41 Only a few of otherwise numerous examples are: two sides of a baptistery ciborium from the Pula cathedral and the side of an altar ciborium from the Church of St Felicita in the same city's suburbs, dated in 9th c. (Milošević 2000a: 2.62–63); an altar screen pluteus from the Krk cathedral, (8th/9th c.) (Milošević 2000a: 2.126); and a side of a ciborium from the Church of St Chrysogonus in Zadar (9th c.), (Milošević 2000a: 2.166).

42 Petrinc 2002: 206–24; 2009, esp. 311–16; Jarak 2002: 247–48; Belošević 2000: 80–84.

43 As clearly shown by Alajbeg (2015) on the examples of Nin-Ždrijac and Kašić-Maklinovo brdo cemeteries.

44 Bilogrivić 2011: 87–89; 2013: 72–75.

contemporary Francia, possibly belt buckles, belt and strap ends, etc. On the contrary, there are only weapons, spurs and elements of their strapping sets, and just a few elements of belt sets which were not intended for carrying a sword. Following the dating of all of these finds into the last decades of the 8th and the first third of the 9th centuries, we should turn to their interpretation within the social and political context of the time. In peripheral and frontier areas of the Empire, as was the Croatian territory, an important role was played by local potentates.⁴⁵ As confirmation of their loyalty an oath to the emperor was expected, which was an act recorded and described in many places in royal and imperial capitularies and other sources.⁴⁶ In addition, social relations among and between elites were maintained through gift-giving of prestige goods, which also served as status symbols and symbols of power,⁴⁷ while the gifts of weapons had an important role in establishing a vassal relationship.⁴⁸

I return now to Egon Wamers' analysis of the burial mound near the entrance to Haithabu (Haiðaby/Hedeby), once an important trading town at the very southern end of Viking Denmark, today a site near Schleswig at the very north of Germany. Probably three men had been buried in a chamber in this grave, each with rich warrior equipment. Other grave goods were also found inside the grave chamber (Carolingian glass beaker, bucket, horse-riding gear, etc.), and beside it three sacrificed horses in a separate shallow pit. A 17–20m long ship was placed over the chamber and everything partially covered by a smaller mound of sand and stones.⁴⁹ The grave goods most interesting for the topic of this paper are three luxurious swords, two of type K and the third one of distinctive type 1 according to Petersen's typological scheme. They are all undoubtedly Carolingian swords, the most luxurious of which (Bb) is decorated with motifs of Christian iconography, as already noted. This grave reveals a mixture of Continental and Christian as well as Viking characteristics, but as a whole can be characterised as a Viking pagan burial. Wamers interpreted the grave and its grave-goods in the light of the story of the baptism of the Danish king Harald Klak as told by Ermoldus Nigellus in a text written

45 Heather 1997, esp. 176–78.

46 McKitterick 2008: 266–70.

47 Costambeys *et al.* 2011: 278–82; Le Jan 2000: 286–87; Curta 2010a: 271; Nelson 2000: 172 (swords and belts as symbols of authority and rank, and as luxurious gifts). Spurs also had a similar symbolic function of indicating status and power: Schulze-Dörlamm 2009b: 167; Wamers 2005b: 57–61.

48 Le Jan 2000: 293–94. On gifts in the context of power and social relations in the Carolingian period extensively in Curta 2006a, cf. Bilogrivić 2009: 148–49.

49 Müller-Wille 1976: 10–30 (the details of this grave, its discovery, earlier research and finds). Slightly different interpretation, proposing two burials instead of three, was given in Staecker 2005: 4–7.

in honor of the emperor Louis the Pious. Ermoldus, namely, writes that Louis gave Harald a horse and weapons when the latter had become his vassal. When in 826 Harald was baptised under Louis' patronage and swore an oath of fidelity, he received from the emperor various other gifts. Among them were a luxuriously decorated sword-belt, Louis' own sword and golden spurs.⁵⁰

As this was a burial of a member of the highest level of Viking Danish elite, Wamers proposed that it could have been Harald Klak himself, although such identification is, of course, ultimately impossible to confirm. After all, as the author himself points out, numerous visits of the Danish elite to the Frankish court, mutual contacts and exchanges of gifts are known to have happened during the first half of the 9th century so that possible identifications of the deceased are also multiple. Indeed, he stresses that it is not at all so important whether it was really Harald who had been buried here, as is the possibility that it might have been him.⁵¹ Namely, the use of Carolingian swords, spurs, a glass beaker, i.e. the intentional display of luxurious objects of Carolingian provenance, their symbols of status and power, reflects tight relations between the two elites despite the constant and intense warfare of the time. Moreover, the use of these objects in a burial context, as was surely the case previously in maintaining regular social relations, is interpreted as a sort of *imitatio imperii* – the adoption of Frankish forms and patterns of power and authority display among various 'peoples' on the imperial periphery. During the christening ceremony, Harald's followers were also dressed "in a Frankish manner" and so, according to Wamers, Harald would have been solemnly invested as a Frankish, i.e. Christian, king of Denmark and his 'people' as a new Frankish 'people'.⁵² Contrary to this interpretation, Jörn Staecker places more emphasis on other members of the Danish elite and interprets the finds and burial in the context of local power-relations and conflicts of the Danes with the Franks and the Abodrites.⁵³ Still, the symbolic importance of the weapons and the whole burial is not questioned.

50 *In honorem Hludowici* 4, 373–84, 607–08. Cf. Wamers 1994a: 36–38; 2005a: 159–60, 165–66; Le Jan 2000: 292–93.

51 Wamers 1994a: 39–42; 2005a: 165–68. It is worth noting the dating of the Haithabu Bb sword on the basis of stylistic but also technological characteristics by Monika Lennartsson (1997/98: 497) to the end of the time range which Wamers proposed for the burial, i.e. around 850.

52 Wamers 1994a: 42; 2005a: 166–67, 169–70; Pentz 2010: 137. Moreover, both authors on account of the grave goods see the other two buried persons, in the separated part of the burial chamber, as a cupbearer and marshal.

53 Staecker 2005: 9, 23–24.

Acts of gift-giving are mentioned in Frankish written sources in the context of different legations from the neighbouring Slavs as well, albeit in less detail. Thus, Wamers also refers to the court held at Frankfurt in 822, at which the legates of various Slavic groups from the eastern frontier territories took part.⁵⁴ While the record in the *ARF* only lists the said Slavic *gentes* that approached the emperor with gifts, in chapter 36 of the Astronomer's *Vita Hludowici imperatoris* there is a description of the case of two brothers, claimants to the position of the *princeps* of the Wilzi after the death of their father, which the emperor had to solve. Louis, as the Astronomer writes, investigated the will of the 'people', which was on the side of the younger brother, and so appointed him as ruler. Then he gave ample gifts to both of the brothers, bound them by oaths and released them in friendly circumstances.⁵⁵ Archaeological reflections of such relations, although not necessarily of this particular situation, on Slavic territories adjacent to the eastern frontier of the Empire would include for example rich graves with luxurious Carolingian belt-sets, spurs and other objects from Bohemia and Moravia, such as those from the sites of Kolín or Stará Kouřim.⁵⁶

It is interesting to note that the same way of appointing a ruler is mentioned one year previously for the area of Dalmatia, the territory where the early medieval Croat duchy would soon arise. Namely, following the death of Borna, the *dux* of the Guduscani and Frankish vassal duke of Dalmatia and Liburnia, in 821, his nephew or grandson Ladislaus was appointed as his successor by 'popular demand' and the decision of the Frankish emperor.⁵⁷ Accordingly, a larger part of finds of Carolingian warrior equipment from present-day Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina might possibly be viewed in a similar light, especially the luxurious examples of swords and spurs.⁵⁸ While such an act gave the Franks a confirmation of loyalty, members of the local elite could have used these objects to demonstrate their ties with the Carolingian Empire, thus securing for themselves special status, a privileged position and power within their society.⁵⁹ It is precisely this relationship that can be regarded as one of the foundations of their newly emerging identity. That identity was also expressed in burial ceremonies in which Carolingian warrior equipment was placed into

54 Wamers 1994a: 34.

55 *Vita Hludowici*: 412, 414.

56 Wamers 1994a: 33–34; 2005a: 169–72.

57 *ARF*, s.a. 821. The same event is mentioned in *Vita Hludowici*: 402, but without Borna's titles or the decision of the 'people', discussed more thoroughly in Bilogrivić 2016: 108–16.

58 Cf. Bilogrivić 2016: 116–42.

59 McKitterick 2008: 290–91; Wamers 1994a: 34. On the elite in the Carolingian world and their representation see Costambeys *et al.* 2011: 271–323; Schulze-Dörrlamm 2009b.

a grave, an act by which the heirs and descendants created a certain image of the deceased, also legitimating their own social position. After all, such situations were characteristic of the early medieval period throughout Europe.⁶⁰

It is necessary to emphasize that this new identity was not created out of nothing. Burial characteristics basically remained unchanged during the last quarter of the 8th and a part of the first third of the 9th century, with most of the grave goods and the graves being more-or-less the same as the graves of the second half of the 8th century.⁶¹ However, in the new and dynamic political context caused by the Carolingian expansion in the eastern Adriatic and its hinterland, a part of the local population found a chance for personal profit and by siding with the Carolingians secured for themselves high social position and political gain. It can be presumed that these were the same people (families?) who had been at the head of local communities prior to the Carolingian advancement as well, *big-men* leading somewhat larger groups. Still, one should not rule out the possibility of some other individuals or groups taking advantage of new circumstances for attaining leading positions. The wide distribution and a certain uniformity of Carolingian finds from Vinodol to the Neretva river, i.e. of the burials of the members of the elite with them, might at first sight and according to traditionalistic interpretation suggest a conclusion of this being only one (ethnic?) group. Such a conclusion would, however, at least for the period of the late 8th and the early 9th centuries, be overly generalising. Members of local elites obviously disposed of a similar repertoire of objects and were buried in a similar manner,⁶² but it is more probable that at certain periods certain smaller groups prevailed. The first known in this area

60 Smith 2005: 119–20, 207; Nelson 2000: 176; Härke 2001: 24–26, 29. Early medieval graves show a much more complex image, connected with various identities, beliefs and constructions of memory. The display of power and social status is only a part of the whole picture. Cf. Schülke 1999: 94–98; Williams 2005: 195–217; Brather 2010; Bilogrivić 2016: 11–16.

61 Belošević 2000; Jarak 2002; Petrinc 2009: 113–16, 133–229 (cemeteries of the 8th and the first half of the 9th centuries).

62 Some differences between certain graves and areas are noticeable, though. Cf. Klanica 2005: 35–47 (graves of the Moravian area). The author demonstrates differences in quantity and types of grave goods, as also in positioning and types of burials. Based on that, various strata within the elite are defined, as are regional differences in placing swords, spurs, spears and other objects in graves. Indeed, Klanica shows that in many cases the deceased in graves with no grave goods should be considered as members of the elite. However we can see this in a later period of burial around churches, where the proximity of a grave to the church is an indicator of high status. Nonetheless, similar questions should be borne in mind while interpreting early medieval graves from Croatia and neighbouring areas.

were the Guduscani, while only during the second third of the 9th century or just slightly earlier, the Croats took the leading role.⁶³

An important role in these new and changeable social relations was played also by material culture or some of its elements. This can be seen in burial ritual, which was supplemented by new status-symbols, in this case elements of Carolingian warrior equipment.⁶⁴ Consequently, new foreign objects were adopted and in a familiar context became potential identity markers.⁶⁵ The process of the definition and development of such elite identity is concurrent with the creation and development of the first polities in this area (among them also Croatia) and kept changing together with social and political changes during the 9th century. In cemeteries it can most clearly be followed precisely during the period in question, from the late 8th through to the second third of the 9th century.

The interpretation of Carolingian finds from Croatia and adjacent areas seems more probable in such a context. This does not negate early medieval migrations, which surely have occurred, but not as a single closed event in a fixed moment of time and, apparently, not at the turn of the 8th and 9th centuries. Neither the material, nor the written sources support that. The Carolingian influence on early medieval Croatia was quite considerable and quite important, as was shown by the exhibition "Croats and Carolingians" in 2000/2001. For the formation of early medieval Croat identity and their ethnogenesis it was possibly the key element. However, it had hardly anything to do with the presumed migration of the Croats.

63 Cf. Dzino 2010: 187–89; Bilogrivić 2016: 152–53; Alimov 2016: 159–63; Budak 2018a: 109, 169–70.

64 The question of material culture and its role in identity formation and negotiation, as well as maintenance of social relations on the territory of early medieval Croatia is discussed in Bilogrivić 2016.

65 Cf. also Dzino 2010: 150, 152; 2014a: 140–41.

PART 3

Integration



Integration on the Fringes of the Frankish Empire: The Case of the Carantanians and their Neighbours

Peter Štih

1 Introduction

At the end of the 8th century, Europe witnessed a military and political expansion of a kind not seen since the period of the Roman Empire. Within approximately three decades, the Franks under Charlemagne managed to subjugate Lombard Italy, Byzantine Istria, the Saxons, the Bavarians, the Slavic peoples in Germania, and destroy the central European Avar Qaganate. With his defeat of the Avars, the authority of the first post-Roman emperor in the West was shifted from the Italian eastern border to the Danube in Pannonia, and a vast area spanning from the Sudetes in the north to the Dalmatian hinterland in the south came under Frankish rule. In the process, military conquests could very well have been the easiest part of the task. It was much more difficult to consolidate Frankish authority in the conquered territories. This meant that, *inter alia*, rebellions had to be crushed and resistance broken down, and the fidelity of the old political elites had to be secured or new ones had to be established. It was also necessary to stabilize political conditions, establish Frankish legal and social norms, and overcome barriers dividing various population groups. All of this provided the impetus for great social changes, so it was necessary to find the most efficient ways that would enable integration and exploitation of the acquired human and material resources. In other words, the conquests of the Frankish sword had to be integrated into the Frankish Empire; however, the means and tools available for this undertaking were rather limited.

Integration is actually a modern term and is these days a burning issue in social and political discourses. Here, integration is discussed as the process of incorporating a specific social community into another one, and, in doing so, it has the nature of a collective term within which processes such as acculturation, accommodation, and transformation of individual social practices occur. Usually, integration is a longer, one could even say an indefinite, process and its success depends greatly on the initial state, which can again be quite different

and requires corresponding approaches and steps. Integration is therefore situationally dependent and differs from case to case.

Within the discussion at hand, it is, for instance, entirely clear that the integration of Byzantine Istria into the Frankish Empire differed greatly from the integration of the Avar Pannonia. Istria was a province with a strong Roman tradition, and a developed economy. It was inhabited by a Christian population speaking a Romance language and the decision-making power was held by the old local elites, who had controlled municipal autonomy. When the peninsula came under Frankish rule around 790, Charlemagne merely took the position that had beforehand been occupied by the emperor in Constantinople. The same holds true for the Frankish duke who replaced the Byzantine *magister militum* at the helm of the province. Everything else remained more-or-less the same. The great changes that resulted in political, social and economic turmoil at the very onset of Frankish rule were merely of a temporary nature. They were brought about predominately by Charlemagne's war against the Avars (791–796–803), in which Istria was involved from the very beginning and to which the peninsula's economy, tax, and other obligations, as well as decision-making, had to be adjusted. The changes were abolished as early as the year 804 at the *Placitum* of Rižana near Koper. Life in Istria returned to its pre-Frankish state, and with exception of the Slavic colonisation of municipal territories, everything – at least for the time being – remained as it had been *tempore Grecorum*.¹

In the territory of the defeated Avar Qaganate, the Franks were met by thoroughly different circumstances. Even though Frankish rule in Pannonia extended as far as the former frontier of the Roman Empire on the Danube, Roman tradition and continuity with antiquity had been lost in that area for a long time. Political, social, and religious life within the frontiers of the Avar Qaganate was gentile. The economic foundations and linguistic practices were altered to the same extent. A complex political and social system, in which various steppe nomadic, Slavic, and Germanic-speaking groups lived with their various traditions and ways of life under the Avar hegemony, was subject to a rapid decomposition and restructuring under Frankish pressure. New political and ethnic communities began to emerge from the ruins of the Avar Qaganate, which was soon reflected in the terminology of the sources, which in the first decades of the 9th century first begin to mention the Czechs, Moravians, Carniolans, Gudusciani, Timociani, and somewhat later also Croats.² The

1 *Placitum Rizianense*; Krahwinkler 2004: 103–46; Štih 2010: 212–29; Esders 1999: 77–78; Esders 2014: 433–38.

2 Pohl 1988: 320–28; 2002: 201–12; Štih 2010: 130–31.

conditions that the Franks encountered in Pannonia and in broader Avaria were for the most part unknown and new to them, but also very unstable and subject to rapid changes. The Frankish court in Aachen, but also lower-level decision makers in Bavaria and Friuli who were in charge of the integration of newly conquered territory into the Frankish Empire, were faced with great challenges.

This chapter will focus on this Slavic-Avar world, which extended from Italy's eastern border as far as the Danube in Pannonia, and from the eastern Alps to the hinterland of the central Dalmatian cities. The Carantanians hold a special place in this area and are thus singled out in the title of this chapter. They are the only Slavic people (*gens*) on which we have pieces of information dating back to as early as the 8th century that are not limited solely to their name and that provide at least a partial insight into their social order. At the same time, they were the first Slavic political-ethnic community to have been subjected to the process of integration into the Frankish Kingdom, in which we can first trace a series of practices that were common at a later point and that linked the authority of the Frankish ruler with gentile communities on the eastern fringes of the Frankish Empire. The integration of the Carantanians was therefore in many respects paradigmatic.

2 Political Integration

The first step in the integration of Carantania and the Carantanians into the Frankish Kingdom, which was taken before the mid-8th century, was a political one. Even prior to the summer of 743, Bavarians subjugated the Carantanians to the rule of the Frankish kings, *servituti regum*. The high-ranking hostages who were taken to Bavaria were a visible sign of the acknowledgement and acceptance of their subjugated position.³ This opened the path which in the long run led to the transformation of the Slavic principality of Carantania into the duchy of Carinthia and to its full integration into the Holy Roman Empire, which grew from the eastern Frankish Kingdom.

This political subjugation was linked to the adjustment of the Carantanians' gentile constitution. Firstly, the change was reflected in the procedure of the installing of the new prince, which presents the first-known adaptation of Carantanian gentile law with a view to integration into the Frankish Kingdom. The Carantanians, whose princely authority was hereditary within one family already in the mid-8th century, "made" their own princes (*illi eum ducem fecerunt*)

³ *Conversio BetC* ch. 4; Wolfram 2012: 117–19.

as well, after their subjugation by the Franks, or they “handed the principality to them” (*ducatum illi dederunt*). However, this was at this point associated with an “order” (*iussio*) or “permission” (*permissio*) from the Frankish king, who thus obtained the right to take part in the decision-making process of installing the Carantanian prince.⁴ From this point onwards, the Carantanians were unable to install their princes without the consent of the Frankish king, otherwise they lacked external legitimacy. The new mode of installing the Carantanian princes, which connected the gentile constitution of the subjugated peoples with the authority of the Frankish king, turned out to be very useful and spread to the client principalities on the Frankish eastern and southeastern border in the 9th century. Ladislaus, *dux* of Dalmatia and Liburnia, where the princely authority was already hereditary, was in 821 installed in the exact same manner as the Carantanian princes Cacatius and Cheitmar. “At the request of the people and with the consent of the emperor” (*petente populo atque imperatore consentiente*) he replaced on the throne his deceased uncle Borna. In the north, the authority of the king of the Veleti (Wilzi) was “... according to the rites of the people” (*secundum ritum gentis*), however, when after the death of the old king his two sons fought for the throne, Louis the Pious settled the dispute in 823. The *qagan* of the tributary ‘Frankish’ Avars in Upper Pannonia, who converted to Christianity, seized power in 805 “according to the old Avar rites” (*iuxta priscum eorum ritum*) only after having obtained Charlemagne’s prior permission.⁵

In the political sphere, the relationship between the Frankish king and the subjugated princes and peoples manifested itself in the form of attendance at the Frankish court and at royal assemblies. The arrival of subordinate princes or their emissaries *ad presentiam regis (imperatoris)* was understood as an obligation that had to be fulfilled on a regular basis.⁶ Normally, such visits were associated with very concrete political agendas but were at the same time also a public staging, a political ritual with a dual message: it demonstrated the subordination and fidelity of gentile princes and their peoples but also granted them legitimacy on the part of the Frankish king.

The central term that defined the relationship between the Frankish king and the subjugated gentile princes or peoples they represented was fidelity (*fides, fidelitas*), which is often seen in the Frankish political vocabulary and

4 *Conversio BetC* ch. 4.

5 *ARF*, s.a. 805, 821, 823.

6 See *ARF*, s.a. 823: Ceadragus, prince of the Abodrites, was accused of not being sufficiently loyal to the Franks and of failing to come *ad presentiam imperatoris* for a long time. He did so that same year and explained himself to the emperor.

whose importance is well illustrated by the following examples. Hrodgaud, the Lombard duke of Friuli, who after the fall of Pavia in 774 in northeastern Italy for quite some time persisted in the military rebellion against Charlemagne, broke *fidam suam*.⁷ Tassilo III, duke of Bavaria, was accused of the same crime on several occasions; after his fall in 788, his own Bavarians “who were more loyal to the Lord King Charles than to him” (*quod omnes Baioarii plus essent fideles domno regi Carolo quam ei*) blamed him for reneging on the pledge of loyalty (*quod Tassilo fidem suam salvam non haberet*).⁸ The rebellious Saxons broke the oath of fidelity to the king (*fide regis tenenda*) several times and had to pledge loyalty in each Frankish campaign.⁹ In 796, the Avar *tudun* and his entourage came to Charlemagne in Aachen, where he subjugated himself to the emperor, received baptism and returned home *post datum servandae fidei sacramentum*, however, soon afterwards he broke his *promissa fidelitate*.¹⁰ In the same manner fidelity was broken when all the Avars fell away from the allegiance in 799.¹¹ Already, a decade earlier Dragovit, the defeated king of the Veleti, had promised *fidem se regi ac Francis servaturum*, and to state one more example, Ceadragus, prince of the Abodrites, was in 823 reproached for not being sufficiently loyal to the Franks (*parum fideliter ageret*), whereupon he was charged with infidelity in 826.¹²

Infidelity (*infidelitas*) was also summarized by the expression *perfidia*,¹³ with which the Frankish court referred to the rebellion by Liudevit, *dux* of Lower Pannonia.¹⁴ Much like the Moravian prince Svatopluk a few decades later, Liudevit thus became *infidelis (regis)*, i.e. somebody who broke the bond of fidelity that linked them to the king, which was considered treason and was subject to severe sanctions, such as seizure of property or the death penalty.¹⁵ The last two Bavarian Agilolfingian dukes, Odilo and Tassilo III, were regarded as *maligni homines* by Charlemagne and his court, since they *infideliter* alienated Bavaria “from our Frankish realm”.¹⁶ In northeastern Italy, Charlemagne confiscated the extensive property of the Lombard Aio, who joined duke Hrodgaud’s rebellion after the fall of Pavia in 774 and subsequently fled to

7 ARF, s.a. 775.

8 ARF, s.a. 787–788.

9 ARF, s.a. 793–795; *Annales Einhardi*, s.a. 794–795.

10 *Annales Einhardi*, s.a. 796.

11 ARF, s.a. 799.

12 *Annales Einhardi*, s.a. 789; ARF, s.a. 823, 826.

13 *Annales Einhardi*, s.a. 785; ARF, s.a. 810–811, 819, 824–826.

14 ARF, s.a. 819, 821.

15 Esders 2012: 363–64.

16 D. Kar. I., no. 162.

Avaria, for becoming *infidelis et fugitivus*. Aio, who later returned to Italy and was granted mercy by Charlemagne, got his possessions back in 799 and made a remarkable career as a count in the service of the Western emperor.¹⁷ In 776, after Hrodgaud's rebellion had been crushed, Paulinus, a *magister artis grammaticae* in Cividale del Friuli, was richly rewarded with such confiscated land. He was a man of the new era. Paulinus came from the ranks of the newly established Frankish elite in Friuli and rose to the position of the patriarch of Aquileia in 787, under whose ecclesiastical jurisdiction was the entire territory south of the river Drava (in Pannonia from 796, in Carantania from 811) and who was one of the main co-organizers of the Christianization of Avaria.¹⁸ Similarly, Charlemagne granted the Church of Aquileia property confiscated from two Lombard brothers who had lost it *propter eorum infidelitatem* and had been killed along with the previously mentioned *infideli duce* Hrodgaud.¹⁹

Therefore, fidelity implied loyalty and obedience, but also (military) service. It was based on a personal obligation and established the relationship of subservience to the king. Thus, regardless of their social and legal position, the king's *fideles* became his 'serfs' and the breach of fidelity was regarded as an act of treason that was most severely sanctioned.²⁰ Fidelity and the related subservience stemmed from the oath of fidelity. The *sacramentum fidelitatis* has its origins in Late Antiquity and is in the 7th century attested for Frankish Merovingian kings,²¹ while under Charlemagne the idea of an oath-based community culminated in the demand that the entire free population under his rule was to swear an oath to him, which was operatively the responsibility of *missi* and counts throughout the empire. In 789 and again in 802, Charlemagne demanded that all subjects entitled to carry weapons and over 12 years of age take an oath of fidelity regardless of their legal and social status or ethnicity.²² The Carantanians and the population of the defeated Avaria, which came under Frankish rule at the end of the 8th century, must have been confronted with the oath of fidelity to the Frankish king too, as well as with all consequences stemming from it in terms of loyalty and subservience, at least with regard to Charlemagne's declarative will. The fidelity that the population of the newly conquered territories had to swear to the Frankish king was an important tool for ruling that bound individuals to loyalty and obedience.

17 D. Kar. I., no. 187; Krahwinkler 2004: 122–23.

18 D. Kar. I., no. 112.

19 D. Kar. I., no. 187; Krahwinkler 2004: 214.

20 Becher 1993: 213; Innes 2005: 80–81; Esders 2012: 363.

21 Marculf, *Formulae* 1, 40.

22 Becher 1993: 78–87, 195–212; Innes 2005: 80–81; Weinfurter 2015: 140–43.

Simultaneously, fidelity was an important integration instrument, as it linked each person who pledged it (and therefore all of them together) with the king. Thus, a new political identity started to emerge that was independent of ethnic, linguistic, and other differences.²³ Fidelity played a similarly integrative role to that of Christianity, which united and linked people of most diverse provenances, traditions, and identities in the Church and in faith.

The administrative reform that took place in 828, mainly in the newly conquered territory to the east of Friuli and Bavaria, represented an additional important step in the political integration of the Frankish 'Wild East'. It was caused by the deposition of the Friulian prefect Balderic, victor over Liudevit, *dux* of Lower Pannonia, whose large mandate area that extended over Friuli and Istria to Slavonia and the hinterland of Dalmatian maritime cities was restructured and reorganised. The area of the Bavarian Eastern prefecture located in the north was also included in the reform. Local gentile princes in Carantania and Carniola were replaced by Frankish counts. Comital administration was probably also introduced at that time in the territory of the tributary Avar Qaganate between the rivers Rába and the Austrian Danube, while Pannonia east of the Rába, around Lake Balaton, saw the introduction of comital administration somewhat later (848) with Pribina's installation as count.²⁴ In Pannonia, south of the Drava and in the Dalmatian interior, the gentile constitution remained in use. In terms of structure, the area east of Bavaria, Carantania, Friuli, and Istria that had been conquered in the Avar war was for the first time split and divided into areas with comital administration and gentile constitution.²⁵ This difference in structure resulted also in different degrees of integration, which was also important for future development. Due to the reform of 828, Carantania and Carniola also became a part of the Bavarian Eastern prefecture that was expanded on account of the Friulian prefecture and the Slavic dukedom between the rivers Drava and Sava in Slavonia. This had very far-reaching consequences, since in the 10th century Carantania and Carniola were included in the Holy Roman Empire that grew from the eastern Frankish Kingdom – Carantania even as its first duchy in the area of the eastern Alps in 976.²⁶ The fledgling Croatian principality, on the other hand, whose *dux* Trpimir in the mid-9th century at least formally acknowledged Frankish rule, which was demonstrated by the mentioning of

23 Esders 2012: 363; Weinfurter 2015: 141.

24 *ARF*, s.a. 828; Krahwinkler 1992: 194–96; Štih 1994: 209–22; Wolfram 1995: 218–24; 2012: 171–73.

25 *Ordinatio imperii*, ch. 2 from 817 still only knew gentile (not territorial) Carantanian, Czech, Avar, and other Slavic communities to the east of Bavaria.

26 Fräss-Ehrfeld 1984: 71–74, 104–07.

the Carolingian king in Italy in the date formula of his charter, had already eliminated itself completely from the Frankish political framework prior to the end of this century.²⁷ On the fringes of their empire, the Franks also failed to retain their rule over Pannonia on both sides of the river Drava, which was the result of the Magyar occupation. The most important central European Slavic principality at the time, Moravia, yielded under Magyar pressure as well. Prior to that, Moravia had managed to elude Frankish control, although not as easily as Croatia, and after great and long-lasting confrontations with east Frankish Carolingians, when it appeared for a brief moment in 870, during the fall of Rastislav and the occupation of Moravia, that it was only a matter of time before Moravia would become the next Frankish-Bavarian county.²⁸

In contrast to the principalities of Croatia and Moravia, which gradually succeeded in reaching full political independence, for the Carantanians the substitution of the gentile constitution with the comital administration in 828 meant the end of their own self-rule, and, in terms of structure and institutions, the most important stage in the integration into the Frankish state.²⁹ Carantania became merely one of the many counties of the Frankish Empire and the door was wide open for the imposition of Frankish law. The emperor, as the successor of the Carantanian prince, is documented to have bestowed the first land in Carantania in 831.³⁰ The recipients in the following decades came mostly from Bavarian ecclesiastical and secular ranks. Frankish-type seigneuries started to emerge, within which social and economic practices typical of feudalism were beginning to assert themselves. At the same time, loss of the state framework and the related political identity in the long run also caused the loss of ethnic identity. As an ethnic community, and a distinct Slavic people, the Carantanians disappeared from history. They shared the fate of the Huns, Goths, Lombards, Avars, Moravians, and other peoples who were far more prominent in the history of Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages and who soon after the decline of their state formations disappeared from history as well. The changes in Carantania in 828 were so far-reaching that they have been justly compared to the transformation of a *foederati* state into a Roman province.³¹

In a light of these watershed moments, the enforcement of the new legal order took time. Moreover, the new legal order could not be transplanted into

27 *CD*, 1:3 (p. 4); Birin 2015: 42–53.

28 *Annales Fuldenses*, s.a. 870–871; Goldberg 2004: 88–90.

29 Štih 2010: 120–21.

30 D. LD., no. 4.

31 Krahwinkler & Wolfram 2001: 109.

gentile social environments in a manner that would cover all walks of life at the same time, but rather came into force selectively and in a piecemeal fashion.³² The longevity of such changes can be gathered from the *notitia traditionis* concerning the foundation of the convent of St Georgen am Längsee in Carinthia in the early 11th century, which still distinguished witnesses under the Bavarian law (*testes tracti per auers*) from those under the Slavic law (*Sclauenicę institutionis testes, testes Sclauigenę*).³³ This mention of Slavic law, in the sense of *professio iuris*, is the last known reference to it, and should to be regarded as a relic of the former Carantanian gentile law and Carantania's gentile rule.³⁴ In Carantania, i.e. Carinthia, which was from 976 onwards one of the duchies of the Ottonian Empire, a century and a half after the introduction of comital administration, two legal communities lived alongside each other.

3 Integration of the Slavic Social Elite

In terms of the integration and acculturation processes to which the indigenous Slavic-Carantanian population were subjected, the deed marking the foundation of the convent of St Georgen am Längsee is interesting from an additional point of view. The interest stems from the fact that only two out of 22 Slavs recorded as living under Slavic law, bore Slavic names – Uitislav and Goin, one of whom can justifiably be assumed to have been of noble origin on the grounds of the event which they were attending. The vast majority already bore Bavarian-German or Christian-Biblical names such as Hartuuich, Chazili, Penno, Sizo, Reginpraecht, Arn, Wolfram, Orthuin, Johannes, Adam, etc. A similar trend, whereby native Slavic names disappeared at the expense of Bavarian-German and Christian ones, is showcased in the somewhat younger material from Friuli.³⁵ Almost two centuries earlier, when in 827, at Puchenau along the Danube near Linz, the Slav Techelin had come to an arrangement with the bishop of Freising regarding the delimitation between the estate of the bishopric and that of his group, the situation had been entirely different. Only two people of 21 present Slavs bore Bavarian-German names, the rest of them bearing Slavic ones.³⁶ The Slavic law, under which the witnesses mentioned

32 Škrubej 2002: 68–70.

33 MC 3, no. 205; Dopsch 2003: 118–27.

34 Škrubej 2002: 67–68.

35 Härtel 1996: 343–58.

36 TF 1, no. 548; Wolfram 1980: 19–21.

in the deed of St Georgen am Längsee lived, and their concurrent Christian and Bavarian-German names reflect in a specific manner the transformation of their bearers' identity, cultural accommodation, and social integration on a personal level, but also transformations of the entire Carantanian society. It became Christian, and the Bavarians started to occupy an increasingly dominant position.

The beginnings of change in Carantanian society were already visible after 772. After the victory of Tassilo III over the rebellious pagan Carantanian opposition that had prevailed for three years a period of increased Bavarian missionary and political activity began. The Carantanian social elite started to present itself as Christian and thus in a Frankish-Bavarian manner. This new self-perception is shown in the construction of proprietary churches that were richly adorned with plaited ornamentation and other high-cost marble embellishments, which only the highest social class could afford. With these prestigious churches the Carantanian leading stratum demonstrated their new faith and thus loyalty to the Agilolfingian and, subsequently, Carolingian overlords, but also their own noble splendour and high social position.³⁷ The Carinthian artefacts with plaited ornamentation therefore serve as a remote witness to a profound religious, cultural, and political transformation that occurred in Carantania under its last princes. At the same time, they are also as a reflection of the integration processes taking place among the higher stratum of the Carantanian society already before the end of the 8th century. What the modest artefacts attest for Carantania is considerably better documented for the 9th-century Croat principality. The remnants of the local churches, their rich marble and other equipment with numerous epigraphic inscriptions, weapons, and other representative burial objects are an exceptional material testament to the great cultural transformations and adaptations of the local elite, with princes and local lords (*župani*) at the top, which occurred in Croatian society after the inclusion of the Dalmatian hinterland into the Frankish Empire.³⁸

The data on familial associations of the local Slavic nobility with the Frankish-Bavarian aristocracy sheds additional light on the integration processes to which Carantanians and other Slavs were subjected. The old, now-days rejected nation-conceptualized master narrative, conjured up – at least as far as Slovenes are concerned – a picture of the transition of the eastern Alpine area under Frankish rule in which the new regime thoroughly marginalized the indigenous population that spoke a different language and had a different way of life. They were excluded from any participation in rule, power,

37 Karpf 2002: 209–22.

38 Delonga 1996; Milošević 2000a: 2.174–363.

and decision-making, and any economic or social prosperity that would open doors to elite-status was rendered impossible, degrading them to the status of a subjugated, unfree population without any rights or power. According to this picture the stratification of the early medieval society in the eastern Alps from the Carolingian era onwards was prominently ethnically determined. The social elite and the upper strata were supposed to be comprised solely of 'Germans', while 'Slovenes' were doomed to servitude and serfdom.³⁹ As a result of Michael Mitterauer's research more than half a century ago, which has been complemented by new findings, it has been made clear that eastern Alpine society after its inclusion in the Frankish Kingdom cannot be described in such a simplistic manner. Contrary to traditional conceptions, the old Slavic – naturally, Christianized – nobility was at least partially integrated through marriages and other ways into the circle of the new social elite, rather than excluded from it.⁴⁰

The earliest known case of such integration into the Bavarian nobility is *Baaz de genere Carontania Sclauaniorum*, who was in Bavaria in 830 in possession of a hereditary property of which he disposed freely. It is safe to assume that Baaz was a descendant of one of the Carantanian noble hostages who was forced to leave for Bavaria prior to the summer of 743 along with two members of the princely family (Cacatius, Cheitmar), where he found a wife suitable for his high social position and started a family whose material basis was also his wife's Bavarian property.⁴¹

An even more prominent example is that of a Carantanian Slav Georgius, who towards the end of the 9th century married Tunza.⁴² The groom, who is in the sources referred to as a *nobilis vir* and was thus regarded as noble by the Bavarians, probably received his Greek name at baptism, while the bride stemmed from "one of the leading noble families in Bavaria and its Eastern March."⁴³ Her family was a branch of an old Frankish noble family from the broader area of Trier and arrived in Carantania via the central Rheinland and Bavaria. Tunza (from Antonia) was the daughter of the Carantanian count Witigowo, who was endowed with property by king Louis the German in Carantania in 859 and by Charles III the Fat in today's Lower Austria around 884. Witigowo had connections to the Lower Pannonian prince and count Pribina, but also with the Croatian prince Trpimir. Tunza's brother Heimo

39 Štih 2002: 1–19; 2014a: 43–45.

40 Mitterauer 1960: 693–726.

41 TF 1, no. 589; Mitterauer 1960: 722.

42 TF 1, no. 1036.

43 Wolfram 2012: 341.

was king Arnulf's *ministerialis* and a member of his close entourage. For a layman, Heimo was granted an exceptional legal privilege by king Arnulf and the privilege of immunity on the property that he had inherited from his father Witigowo. That same year (888) in Karnburg, Carantania, where he celebrated Christmas, Arnulf richly endowed his wife Miltrud. The married couple must have decidedly supported Arnulf's ascent to the Frankish throne in 887, so that in return the new king felt obliged to reward them – he did so to each of them separately – in the first year of his reign.⁴⁴ The family Georgius married into was held in the highest respect, which is reflected in their close ties with the Frankish ruling dynasty and speaks volumes about the groom's social position, on account of which he was accepted into such a circle.

A Christian name was borne also by the Slav Joseph, who during the decline of the Carolingian period, was lord of the fortified hillfort Gars-Thunau above the river Kamp in the Austrian Danubian area. His reputation and social position must have been very high as well, since by designating him *vir venerabilis* Freising recognized his rank as equal to that of a duke.⁴⁵ The above-mentioned Slav Techelin, who reached a settlement with the Freising bishop Hitto in Puchenau along the Danube in 827, must have been somewhat lower in rank, but still a nobleman. At a *placitum* led by the Frankish count in Traungau, witnesses from both sides were considered to be *nobiles viri*.⁴⁶ Also the noble Svatopluk, a vassal of the Bavarian duke Luitpold who was granted extensive possessions in Carinthia and in Upper Austria by emperor Arnulf and king Louis the Child in 898 and 903 respectively, was a member of this apparently already quite differentiated Slavic nobility that managed to survive and be integrated into the ranks of the Frankish-Bavarian elite. Svatopluk's name and that of his younger relative Moimir, who is in the Salzburg donation records referred to as count, suggest that their ancestors originated from Moravia. In Bavaria, this family, belonging to the ancestry of Hemma of Gurk, was related by kinship with the Salzburg archbishop Theotmar (873–907), the leader of king Carlman's court chapel and archchancellor of emperor Arnulf, after whom the name Diotmar came into its ranks.⁴⁷

A particularly telling witness to the integration of the Slavic nobility into the ranks of the Frankish-Bavarian elite is the life story of the Lower Pannonian

44 D. LD., no. 99; D. K. III., no. 113; D. Arnolf, no. 32, 42; Mitterauer 1960: 693–700, 712–19; Ludwig 1999: 218–26; Wolfram 2012: 340–53.

45 TF 1, no. 1037; Wolfram 1980: 20–21.

46 See n.36 above.

47 D. Arnolf, no. 162, 193; D. LK., no. 27; Mitterauer 1960: 701–12. For additional examples see Štih 2014a: 48–49; 2014b: 183–92.

prince and count Pribina.⁴⁸ Already as a pagan prince, Pribina most probably married an unknown lady from the Bavarian comital family of the Wilhelminers, for whom he commissioned the construction of a church in Nitra, Moravia, consecrated by the Salzburg archbishop Adalram sometime between 821 and 833. Kocel, who was born from this marriage, thus not only had a Bavarian mother, from whom he inherited property in Bavaria, but also bore a name that is merely a diminutive of the Frankish-Bavarian name Cadaloh. In the period when he was still a pagan gentile prince, Pribina had contacts with the leading stratum of the Bavarian-Frankish nobility, into which he entered after the marriage. Pribina's escape from Moimir into Frankish territory, where he received a friendly welcome, thus meant that he arrived in an environment and among people he was well acquainted with. After the baptism, which took place at the behest of Louis the German, Pribina became *fidelis* to the king,⁴⁹ and with the king's consent Pribina and his group settled in Pannonia, where along the river Zala to the west of Lake Balaton he received a large territory as a fief around 840. The former prince of Nitra found a new homeland in the Pannonian plain, as a vassal of the eastern Frankish king and under Frankish patronage created his own lordship. Concurrently, in terms of authority and military, he and his entourage filled the void that emerged after the abolishment of the tributary Avar Qaganate (probably in 828), and the Archbishopric of Salzburg achieved its first successes in the Christianization of the missionary area that had been entrusted to it in 796 only after Pribina's arrival, i.e. more than forty years after the official beginning of Christianization in Avaria. Pribina's successes in the consolidation of Frankish Pannonia to the north of the river Drava were so swift and of so great a magnitude that in 848 Louis the German endowed him with the property given as a fief around 840. Concurrently, Louis made Pribina a count and thereby the king's representative in Pannonia. This comital position was the highlight of Pribina's career. Out of all Slavs who were successfully integrated into the Bavarian-Frankish elite, Pribina achieved the highest position in the hierarchy of the Frankish authority. With the single exception of his son and heir Kocel, not a single 9th-century Slav was made a Frankish count.

The stated examples bear witness to the successful integration of at least a part of the highest Slavic nobility into the ranks of the Frankish-Bavarian elite in the southeastern part of the empire and indicate the existence of groups of Slavs that were regarded as equal in rank by the neighbouring nobility who intermarried with them. This is also reflected by memorial inscriptions in the 'book of life' (*liber vitae*) in Salzburg and Cividale del Friuli, where members

48 See Štih 1994: 208–22; Wolfram 2012: 174–76, 183–96.

49 D. LD., no. 100.

of the Bavarian and Slavic elite occur as equals and side by side.⁵⁰ Thus emergence a new social elite, which acted integratively. Pribina, who had connections with Louis the German immediately after his desertion to Frankish territory, and who paid for his loyalty with his life,⁵¹ and Georgius, who married into a family that had close ties with the king and emperor Arnulf, are two telling examples which show that the formation of a new elite was in the interest of members of the Carolingian dynasty, who reigned in individual (*sub*)*regna*. The Carolingians and the Frankish elite encouraged such ties as they strengthened their authority and stabilised social conditions in the territories under their lordship.

4 The Integrative Role of Christianity and the Church

Christianity and the Church played a central role in overcoming barriers dividing various population groups within the Frankish-Carolingian kingdom/empire and expedited the integration of the subjugated, originally pagan and gentilely organized groups within it. In doing so, two aspects were of vital importance. Firstly, Christianity produced the ethical and moral foundations on which Frankish society was based and which had to be accepted by the subjugated pagan peoples and individuals. Inclusion into the Christian community created fundamental prerequisites for living together, which was associated with social disciplining at the hands of the Church. Secondly, with Christianity and with the Church, the integration processes encompassed each social stratum. Christianity and the Church played a particularly crucial role in the integration of the lower and at the same time most numerous social strata, which are hardly noticeable in sources. It is thus unsurprising that Frankish expansion into pagan environments was closely linked with conversion to the Christian faith, which was to happen as soon as possible. From this perspective we may then understand why bishops marched alongside the Frankish army that sealed the fate of the Avar Qaganate into Pannonia in 796.

The Carantanian princes Cacatius and Cheitmar were baptised immediately after the subjugation of Carantania by the Bavarians (Franks). Pribina too was baptised directly after his desertion to the Frankish territory at the behest of Louis the German. The Avar prince *tudun* received baptism in 796 concurrently with his subjugation under Charlemagne, and his counterparts *kapkan* Theodore and *qagan* Abraham, bore Biblical names, which they assumed at

50 Wolfram 2012: 186, 274–301.

51 *Conversio BetC*, ch. 10.

baptism, acquired Charlemagne's protection for themselves and for the groups they helmed only after their conversion.⁵² They are all telling witnesses to how the adoption of Christianity was a prerequisite for the integration of the Slavic or any other nobility into the Frankish-Bavarian leading stratum. Subjugation to the authority of the Frankish king, which was linked to baptism, was one of the main ways the Franks regulated relations between themselves and their subjugated *gentes*.

The Christianization of the Carantians was a first in the entire Slavic world and therefore of crucial importance. With this undertaking, a field of activity opened for the Western Church which was in many respects novel and was to a great extent a pioneering and experimental enterprise. For the first time in history, a language barrier between the idioms of a Romance and Germanic languages on the one hand and a Slavic language on the other had to be overcome in a spiritual and cultural setting of the highest echelon. For the first time the Church had to speak Slavic on all levels necessary for communication and Christianization, ranging from the most profane to the most sublime forms of expression. Leaning on the *lexis* of the Carantian Slavs, missionaries had to create anew the Christian terminology of the Annunciation, by means of which radically new contents of the Christian faith could be explained to the addressees. To paraphrase Hans Eggers, it took a revolution of the entire Slavic imaginary world for the Lord's Prayer to be understood in the first place.⁵³ We are not dealing merely with the translation of fundamental ecclesiastical concepts, but rather with the necessity to express abstract theological thinking in the Slavic language.⁵⁴ In doing so, the missionaries had no models in the neighbouring and related Slavic idioms to lean on. This was an extraordinarily difficult task.

Christianization was just as challenging for the missionaries as it was for individuals or communities with gentile religious conceptions. The adoption of the Christian God, which was possible solely on a personal level, was not only a religious act, but also resulted in extensive changes on a societal level. This religious turning point put these societies to a great test. Not only did not all pagans strive to pass through Augustus' 'door of faith' and enter the baptismal pool, but it was also difficult to explain to them the *per se* difficult theological problem of the Trinity, and why by adopting the new god they should be forced to give up their old ones, and regard them as the devil's work, which brought

52 *Conversio BetC*, ch. 4, 10; *ARF*, s.a. 796, 805; *Annales Iuvavenses maiores*, s.a. 805; *Annales Sancti Emmerami Ratisponensis maiores*, s.a. 805.

53 H. Eggers 1986: 197.

54 Wehl 1974: 8.

about great conflicts of loyalty. The Frisian prince Radbod († 719) was surely not the only one who, preferring to be with his ancestors in hell than alone in the heavenly kingdom, refused to get baptised.⁵⁵ Along with religious conversion, the adoption of the new god also meant the adoption of new ethical and moral standards, cultural patterns, and behavioural norms that linked them to the rest of their 'fellow countrymen' at least to the same extent as the legal order that applied to the entire Frankish state. The demand to live in line with Christian ethics and within the Church was omnipresent and the related orders, instructions, and warnings applied to everybody. Provisions of capitularies and bishops' synods on imperial level were summarized by conclusions of provincial synods, and bearers of the secular authorities and the entire clergy were responsible for their realisation. A series of old practices, e.g. the pagan burial and cult, polygamy, promiscuity, and, in general, everything that was in contrast with the Christian conception of family, were banned. The construction of churches and payment of tithe became obligatory, as did fasting and confession, celebration of saints and other church holidays, and attendance of mass on Sunday. Particularly, with the introduction of Sunday as the Lord's Day (*dies Domini = dominica*), when all (peasant) work was forbidden, life fell into a steady and stable rhythm.

The conclusions of the first Bavarian Synod of Reisbach, convened by the Salzburg archbishop Arn in 799 or 800 indicate that at the turn of the 9th century the liturgical year north of the river Drava included 36 holidays.⁵⁶ As is known from Alcuin's letter to Arn, the first archbishop of Salzburg is credited with introducing All Saints' Day on 1 November into the area of the Bavarian metropolitan province, and, consequently, to the Slavic world belonging to it.⁵⁷ In day-to-day practice, Christian life stipulated that people were to take part in intercessional processions (litanies), clad in plain clothes and singing appropriately. Additionally, they were to learn to call *Kyrie eleison* (Lord have mercy) in a less peasant-like manner.⁵⁸ This stipulation could have had an indirect impact on the Carantanian-Carinthian enthronement ceremony and could be associated with its first known adaptation, when the initially pagan ritual was tailored to the requirements of a society which defined itself as Christian. The oldest known form of the duke's installation, whose beginnings are justifiably to be sought in the gentile constitution of the Slavic principality of Carantania,

55 *Vita Vulframni episcopi Senonici* 9.

56 *Concilium Rispacense*, B/(11); *Concilia Rispacense, Frisingense, Salisburgense*, ch. 5, 41–49; Hartmann 1989: 142–48.

57 Alcuin, *Epistolae*, no. 193.

58 *Concilia Rispacense, Frisingense, Salisburgense*, ch. 4, 14(9), 34(2).

went on as follows: the new duke, clad in peasant (hunting) attire, was brought to the Prince's Stone at Zollfeld, and led around it three times while people present were singing *Kyrie eleison* in the vernacular (*windische lassen*), thanking God for bringing them a lord who was to their liking.⁵⁹

It certainly could not have been easy to change life's routines and live in accordance with Christian principles. In practice, this meant that numerous difficulties had to be overcome and many acts of resistance broken. A good insight into the extent of the great changes that the Christian faith brought to pagan communities is provided by the *Responsa Nicolai papae ad consulta Bulgarorum* from 866. This is a set of extensive replies by the pope Nicholas I (858–867) to the unpreserved catalogue of questions by the Bulgar khan Boris-Michael, who had beforehand received baptism from Constantinople and who wanted to withdraw from its influence by associating himself to Rome.⁶⁰ The questions of which animals could be eaten, whether amulets might be worn or magical stones used, whether prayer for one's pagan ancestors was allowed, if women were allowed to wear trousers, or whether Christians were allowed to have two wives, etc. mirror situations that pagan social environments had to face along with purely practical problems which had to be solved.⁶¹

The new faith also brought about changes among the bearers of social power. Groups that controlled gentile sacral-religious spheres lost their influence and were socially marginalised, which was certainly one of the reasons for the rebellions which took place in Carantania as early as the 760s. In general, the bearers of Christianization and the related integration were faced with great difficulties in their work; additionally, the Christianization of the Avar-Slavic 'Wild East' in Pannonia also failed to live up to their great expectations. The euphoria that can be felt on the Frankish side following victorious campaigns into the heart of the Qaganate in 795 and 796 was also shared by the mission's organizers.⁶² Alcuin's correspondence and the protocol of the bishops' synod "along the riverbanks of the Danube" provide a rare insight into its ideational background.⁶³ However, the goals, which were set very high, and the related necessity to produce good Christians, one after another turned out to be too large a burden for the Church, which lacked competent missionaries with a good command of the vernacular. In 870, Salzburg boasted of its successful Christianization of the Carantanians and could list the names of the

59 MC 6, no. 25 (Schwabenspiegel); Grafenauer 1942: 63–73; Zagiba 1974: 119–26.

60 See Ziemann 2007a: 356–89.

61 *Responsa Nicolai papae ad consulta Bulgarorum*, ch. 33, 43, 51, 59, 62, 79, 88.

62 *Rythmus de Pipini regis victoria Avarica*; Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, ch. 13.

63 Alcuin, *Epistolae*, no. 99, 107, 110–13, 184; *Conventus episcoporum ad ripas Danubii a. 796*.

missionaries who were active in Carantania, while they had virtually nothing to show for the first decades of their mission in Pannonia. Their undertaking, which had begun with great zest, failed, and the mission was only saved from ruin by Pribina's arrival. Salzburg's first successes in the Christianization of Pannonia came no sooner than the mid-9th century with the arrival of the newly baptised Slavic prince of Nitra, who organized the area.⁶⁴ This was of decisive importance, since without lordship Christianization and the ecclesiastical breakthrough would not have been possible.

Alcuin, the spiritual leader of the Christianization of Avaria, attempted to secure the success of this grand endeavour also by pointing to the deterrent effect of the tithe on the recently converted individuals and communities: "The tithe is good for our prosperity, however, it is better to give it up than to lose faith" (*melius est illam amittere quam fidem perdere*);⁶⁵ one should be "a preacher of mercy, not a collector of tithe" (*predicator pietatis, non decimarum exactor*).⁶⁶ It is difficult to say to what extent his warnings were effective. The protocol of the bishops' synod "*ad ripas Danubii*" from 796, which was also attended by the patriarch Paulinus of Aquileia and the archbishop Arn of Salzburg, who were well aware of Alcuin's standpoint, does not address a single word to the question of the tithe.⁶⁷ However, a special Slavic tithe, *decima Sclavorum*, is at a later point attested to in the Archdiocese Salzburg, in Carinthia and Styria, which was fixed and considerably lower than the variable canon tithe.⁶⁸ It was in force up to its abolishment by archbishop Gebhard (1060–1088).⁶⁹

According to the dominant opinion, the beginnings of the Slavic tithe are associated with the Christianization of the Pannonian Avars and Slavs, even though this is not attested in the area of the patriarchate of Aquileia south of the river Drava.⁷⁰ On the other hand, the provision of the Synod of Tribur in 1036 that "all Slavs are to pay tithe just as all other Christians" indicates that the exemption did not apply solely to the east Alpine and Pannonian area and that we are not dealing with a regional peculiarity.⁷¹ It is therefore highly likely that the Slavic tithe was introduced in view of a generally lower stage of

64 *Conversio BetC*, ch. 10–13; Wavra 1991: 193–94; Pohl 1993: 275; Wolfram 2012: 191–97, 203–13.

65 Alcuin, *Epistolae*, no. 110.

66 Alcuin, *Epistolae*, no. 107.

67 *Conventus episcoporum ad ripas Danubii a. 796*.

68 See StÜB 1, no. 585.

69 Dopsch 1983: 235.

70 See Vilfan 1982: 849. For a map including places where the Slavic tithe was documented see: Kronsteiner 1997: map 4.

71 *Concilium Triburiense*, ch. 6.

Slavic economy, which did not allow for recovery of the canon tithe.⁷² However, at the same time this does not exclude the possibility that the beginnings of the Slavic tithe are linked with the Christianization in Avaria, from where the new practice was transplanted into the remaining parts of the Frankish-Ottonian *Sclavinia*. The Slavic tithe can most certainly be understood as one of numerous examples of the accommodation of missionary practice to the social conditions and economic capabilities at hand, which again had integrative effects. Something similar was conducted by the newly established Frankish regime under duke John in Istria in approximately the same period: for three years, he oversaw the tithe that the Istrians paid to the Church for pagan Slavs, whom he colonised to the areas owned by towns and *castella*.⁷³ In doing so, he facilitated their survival in the initial stage of the settlement, when these Slavs had to set up their own economic enterprises, whatever they were.

5 Conclusion

Integration processes, by means of which the population of the vast area between northern Italy and the Danube in Pannonia, and between the eastern Alps and the hinterland of Dalmatian maritime cities, were included in the Frankish Empire, happened on very different levels and varied greatly in their starting points as well. In Istria, for instance, a province with a strong ancient and Roman tradition and continuity, whose Christian population spoke a Romance language, integration was quite easy and quick. The situation was completely different in the eastern Alps, which were populated by Slavs, or in Avar Pannonia, where social and religious life was defined as gentile and where the integration of the local population and community posed great challenges to the Frankish court and the lower-level decision makers in Bavaria and Friuli. Here, integration was a long-term process, with an outcome that was not always positive. The Carantanians were the first Slavic gentile-political community subjected to the process of integration into the Frankish Kingdom. In the case of the Carantanians, we can trace a series of practices, which were common at a later stage, that linked the authority of the Frankish ruler with gentile communities on the eastern fringes of the Frankish Empire.

This integration first occurred in the sphere of politics. The old (the Carantanians, Avars) and the new (the Czechs, Moravians, Carniolans, Croats, etc.) gentile communities were integrated into the Frankish political system

⁷² Vilfan 1982: 849.

⁷³ *Placitum Rizianense*, 78–79; Krahwinkler 2004: 143–44; Štih 2014c: 272–73.

in such a way that the Frankish king obtained the right to take part in the decision-making process of installing new gentile princes who thus obtained external legitimacy. The central term that defined the relationship between the Frankish king and the subjugated gentile princes and the peoples they represented was fidelity (*fides, fidelitas*). Fidelity was established by means of an oath (*sacramentum fidelitatis*), which under Charlemagne culminated in his demand that it had to be sworn by the entire free population under his rule. The population that was gradually coming under Frankish rule in the east of Bavaria and Italy from the mid-8th century onwards was also confronted with the oath of fidelity to the Frankish king along with all its consequences in terms of loyalty, subjugation, and the related sanctions. Fidelity was an important tool for rule that bound individuals to loyalty and, simultaneously, also an important instrument of integration, since it linked everybody who had sworn it (and thus all of them together) to the king. With the emergence of fidelity, a new political identity came into being independent of ethnic, linguistic, and other differences. Its role was a similarly integrative one to that of Christianity, which united and linked people of various provenances, traditions, and identities in the Church and in faith.

In general, Christianity and the Church played one of the central roles in overcoming barriers that divided different groups within the population of the Frankish-Carolingian kingdom or empire and expedited the integration and accommodation of native inhabitants, originally pagan and gentile groups. Christianity provided the ethical and moral foundations of Frankish society, which had to be accepted by the subjugated pagan peoples and individuals. Inclusion into the Christian community thus created fundamental prerequisites for living together, which were associated with the social disciplining that was in the hands of the Church. Thereby, it was of vital importance that integration processes associated with Christianity and the Church encompassed each social stratum.

The adoption of Christianity was a prerequisite for the integration of the Slavic social elite into the ranks of the Frankish-Bavarian nobility. Marriages among members of the Slavic and Frankish-Bavarian nobility point to the existence of groups of people who were considered equal in rank by the neighbouring nobility, who accepted them and intermarried with them. In this manner, amongst other factors, a new social elite emerged that acted integratively, which was in the interest of the members of the Carolingian dynasty reigning in respective (*sub*)*regna*, since it strengthened their authority and stabilised social conditions in the territories under their lordship.

Istria under the Carolingian Rule

Miljenko Jurković

Byzantine Istria was conquered by the Carolingians in ca. 788, after they had defeated the Lombards in 774. That fact, even if the exact year of Carolingian conquest is not certain, had until the 1990s no echoing in the interpretation of the landscape provided by monumental art and architecture in Istria. Instead, it was fully perceived as a Byzantine landscape, or at least a territory under strong Byzantine influence. Archaeologists and art historians were unable to find material evidence for the Carolingian presence in Istria, at least in monumental art – architecture and sculpture – though they noticed scarce traces in paintings or some minor metalwork. Large scale archaeological surveys, excavations and comparative analysis have been undertaken at the beginning of the 1990s, and the general picture has changed dramatically.¹ Instead of a Byzantine Istria, as imagined in former literature, appeared a brand new Carolingian Istria in the early Middle Ages. Further research in the last fifteen years was concentrated on a few important problems – the settlements² and the transfer of forms and functions from the neighbouring areas. The results of that research that we have at our disposal today allows us to depict with more certainty the monumental landscape of Istria in the last quarter of the 8th and the first half of the 9th century.

1 Before the Conquest

Istria had become the most southeastern province of the Carolingian realm in the last quarter of the 8th century, usually dated to 788. This was the result of the Carolingian imperial expansion, which directly encountered another imperial polity in the northern Adriatic – the Byzantine Empire. It is still uncertain whether this is the result of a sequence of unconnected political

1 The results of these surveys, depicting a Carolingian Istria, were presented at the exhibition “Croats and Carolingians” in 2000–2001 in Split and Brescia. See Jurković 2001: 163–75, and recently Jurković 2016a.

2 Jurković 2016a. This new research has been supported in part by the Croatian Science Foundation under the project 6095: “Croatian Medieval Heritage in European Context: Mobility of Artists and Transfer of Forms, Functions and Ideas (CROMART)”.

acts – the fall of the Lombard kingdom in 774, the conquest of Istria in 788, the fall of the Avar Qaganate in 796, and finally the Carolingian confrontation with the Byzantine cities in Dalmatia.³ It is also possible to see it as the outcome of planned conquest prepared through diplomatic activities.

The first document informing us of an involvement of the Papacy and the Carolingians in the Istrian affairs is a letter of Pope Hadrian I to Charlemagne, dated 776–780. The letter mentioned a certain *episcopus Histriensis* Mauritius, who was sent to collect the *pensiones beati Petri* in the Istrian territory.⁴ The Pope asked Charlemagne to protect the bishop who was attacked by the local ‘Greeks’, who accused him of holding the desire of deliverance of Istria to Carolingian power. The letter thus proves the diplomatic activities of the Papacy and the Carolingians in Istria even before the conquest.

These activities seem to be a strategy used by both sides – the Carolingians and Byzantium – the same patterns were recently discovered in Dalmatia as well. About the same time, a certain ‘John’ was sent to Split, to restore the ancient Church organization, and create an important Carolingian outpost in Dalmatia. ‘John’ accomplished the task, as proved by the sarcophagus bearing his name and the title of archbishop. The sarcophagus was placed in the Church of St Matthew, aside the Split cathedral, for which he ordered new liturgical furnishings from a workshop that might have had been connected to Rome.⁵ The countermeasures from Byzantium were swift. A Council was organized in Nicaea in 787. Four Dalmatian bishops were summoned from Split, Kotor, Rab and Osor,⁶ in a clear attempt to persuade them to join the eastern oecumene. The results seem to have been the opposite of Byzantine expectations. Recent research has detected increased activity of sculptors in this period. The cathedrals in the four bishoprics, with addition of Zadar, were adorned by new liturgical furnishings. The work in the cathedral in Split was done at a stone-carving workshop named *The Split carving workshop*, commissioned by archbishop John.⁷ In Kotor, the carving was done by *The Workshop from the time of bishop John of Kotor*,⁸ in Osor and Rab by a workshop named *The Quarnero workshop*,⁹ and finally in Zadar by a workshop named the *Zadar cathedral slabs workshop*.¹⁰ The compositional schemes and the motifs on altar

3 See Ančić 2018 for a general picture of this period.

4 Cuscito 1988/89: 68; Jurković & Basić 2009: 289.

5 Basić & Jurković 2011.

6 Darrouzès 1975.

7 Basić & Jurković 2011, see also Budak in this volume.

8 Zornija 2016.

9 Jurković 2016b.

10 Josipović 2014.

screen slabs use the same patterns, and the origins of such decoration patterns are directly linked to Italy, more specifically to the city of Rome.¹¹

From this it can be concluded that the conquest of Istria was carefully planned and prepared. The Istrian bishop Mauritius, mentioned before, was identified with the one mentioned on an inscription on the ciborium placed in the baptistery of the cathedral in Novigrad/Cittanova. We do not know what happened to Mauritius after he was expelled by the locals, but he was clearly restored to power, probably immediately after the Carolingian conquest.

2 Civitas Nova – the Political and Ecclesiastical Center

From that point on, the organization of the new Carolingian rule in Istria can be clearly seen from the monuments themselves. The first concern of the new rulers was to establish a center of power, both political and ecclesiastical. For that, a small agglomeration was chosen, Civitas Nova, modern Novigrad/Cittanova (Fig. 8.1). There is scarce evidence of the shape of the settlement, but it is clear that during Late Antiquity it was a fortified settlement.¹² The settlement, first called Emonia, then known as Neapolis, can on a symbolical level be considered as a truly new town in the Carolingian period – Civitas Nova. It deserved this name for providing a new function as the see of the bishop and residence of the Duke.

As for establishing the political center in Novigrad, a slightly later document, the *Placitum Rizianense* from 804, states that the Istrian *dux* John resided there.¹³ The ecclesiastical center was established by building the cathedral of earlier mentioned bishop Mauritius. A recent conservation work on the cathedral has shown that under the façade of a modern building is hidden the early medieval church, overturning the previous views that considered most of the remnants to be from the Romanesque period. In fact, three windows were found on the southern wall of the nave. Their morphology of plain-arched and elongated windows is clearly of early medieval origins. Luckily, small parts of the original *transennae* decorated with interlace ornaments were also found *in situ*, confirming that the church must be preserved in its entirety under modern layers.¹⁴

11 Jurković 2016b.

12 Buršič-Matijašič & Matijašič 2013: 192.

13 Krahwinkler 2004; Levak 2007. The document is also discussed by Ančić, Basić and Štih in this volume.

14 This conservation work has been conducted by I. Matejčić. The findings have finally closed a former dilemma in chronology. Three identical windows were found on the opposite,

Knowing that the early medieval church is hidden under the modern one, its layout is equally interesting for comparative purposes. The three-nave basilica with an elongated choir resembles known examples from the Carolingian imperial core – however, more precise comparisons will need to wait for further research. The most important feature known is undoubtedly the fully preserved crypt (Fig. 8.2a). Before the most recent excavation campaigns, the crypt was also considered to be Romanesque. However, the uncovering of a window with a double *transenna*, one of them decorated with interlace ornaments, attached to the wall by the original mortar, clearly states its early medieval origin.¹⁵ The plan of the crypt is identical with the one of the apse above, and during the excavations it has been proven that they were built at the same time. The general layout of the crypt, the position of the original stairways on the sides, the cross-vaults supported by strong rectangular ribs, the semi-capitals, the positioning of the altar, and above all, the two small chambers embedded between the semicircular inner apse wall and the rectangular outer wall connect the Novigrad crypt to the one in Aquileia (Fig. 8.2b).¹⁶ As the crypt in Aquileia is recently dated to the time of patriarch Paulinus (end of 8th c.), it brings new dating possibilities for Novigrad, and shows the dependence of the bishop of Civitas Nova to the Carolingian-friendly patriarch.

The Novigrad cathedral was adorned with liturgical furnishings of high quality. Judging by the current state of research, there are two decoration phases.¹⁷ The original one is outstanding. As the sanctuary was elevated because of the crypt, the altar screen placed on a higher position than the viewers would normally block the view towards the altar. That is the probable reason why as many as four altar screen slabs were perforated. Being very rare in European early medieval sculpture and very expensive to produce, as they usually broke during carving process, the perforated altar screen slabs alone show the importance of the cathedral and the extent of financial investment in its construction. Other slabs were decorated on both sides, probably positioned on the staircase and meant to be seen from both sides, again stressing the richness of the whole building.¹⁸

northern wall of the nave in the 1970s, Matejčić 2006: 22. They were originally restored in a way that suggested a Romanesque form, confusing the researchers convinced that they belong to a Romanesque phase. These three windows have undergone new restoration, which brought them back to the original early medieval shape.

15 Matejčić 2006: 23.

16 Matejčić 2006: 26.

17 Matejčić 2006: 25.

18 Most can be found in the catalogue: Jurković *et al.* 2006.

As stated earlier, the quality of the liturgical furnishings is outstanding. Some decoration patterns are recognizable, for example on the pilasters, motifs such as a double frame are copies of late antique ones, used mostly in the 6th c. sculpture, as seen in the Poreč (ancient Parentium) cathedral.¹⁹ This translation of ancient motifs surely enters in the general concept of Carolingian *renovatio*. Detailed analysis of the sculptures has attributed a number of those carvings to a workshop called *The Master of the Bale capitals*,²⁰ but other stone carving workshops need to be also considered. Some elements of the liturgical furnishings were carved in marble by an outstanding sculptor. The compositions are very similar to the patterns used in the earlier mentioned contemporary workshops working in Dalmatia (*The Quarnero workshop, The Workshop from the time of Bishop John of Kotor, The Zadar cathedral slabs workshop*), which can be traced to Italy, most certainly Rome.²¹

Adjacent to the cathedral stood a baptistry, which is non-existent today.²² The baptistry of an octagonal form that might have had belonged to an earlier late antique church as well an early medieval, was corresponding by its layout and form to the Carolingian idea of *renovatio* – creative imitation of ancient models. In any case, a new ciborium was commissioned by bishop Mauritius (Fig. 8.3a), who is mentioned on the inscription running under the cornice.²³ A detailed analysis of the decoration showed that the ciborium was commissioned from a workshop in Cividale del Friuli. The model for the compositional schemes is the ciborium commissioned by patriarch Calixto (737–756) in Cividale (Fig. 8.3b). This is shown through the use of motifs, the compositions, the last reflexions of a style called *rinascenza liutprandea*, a fashion en vogue in the 8th c. during the reign of the Lombard king Liutprand, characterized by turning towards classical forms. More contemporary ciboria of the same workshop are to be found in the whole of the northern Adriatic, starting with Aquileia, including Sedegliano and Zuglio.²⁴

Therefore it is clear that both the architecture and the sculpture of Novigrad's cathedral show strong links with the political center Cividale and the ecclesiastic center in Aquileia. The position of the political and ecclesiastical

19 Matejčić 2006: 25.

20 Jurković 2002.

21 Matejčić (2014: 210) is convinced that the work was done by a workshop that has been active in Piobesi d'Alba in Piemonte. Other comparisons go towards Rome, see Jurković 2016b.

22 The exact position of the baptistry is still unknown, its description and drawing was done by L. Dufourny in 1783, see Matejčić 2006: 28.

23 Jurković 1995b.

24 Jurković 1995b; 2014: 162–68.

center was well chosen. It is relatively far from the Roman road, which, even without firm archaeological evidence, must be considered as functional in this time. Strategically positioned on the sea shore, at the mouth of the Mirna river, it connected two old 'highways' – the sea and the river. At the same time the new centre was in between two old bishoprics, Poreč (Parentium) and Trieste (Tergeste), which were at the time of the Carolingian conquest still hostile, belonging to another Church organization depending on the patriarch from Grado.

The creation of the civic and ecclesiastical centre was the first step in the control of the territory and its further integrations into imperial networks. A number of fortified settlements of different categories and different functions were created at strategical points along the main transportation axes.

3 Controlling the Territory – Fortified Settlements

The political and ecclesiastical centre established, with evidence of its strong connections with the respective centers to which it was linked – Cividale and Aquileia, the control of the newly conquered territory rested upon fortified settlements. At this point of the research, only a few pieces of archaeological data are known. These settlements can be deduced by the patterns recognized in the one of those settlements where a systematic archaeological survey has been performed for the last 15 years – Guran in southern Istria. Combining those patterns with an evidence from the *Placitum Rizianense*, it can be stated that a large number of those fortified settlements with different functions were established. The only settlement where long lasting programmed archaeological research are under way is Guran,²⁵ but for this purpose it would be better to make attempt to depict the spatial organization and the Carolingian control of the territory, including all available data.²⁶

Geographically, the Istrian peninsula has the shape of a triangle, flanked by the sea to the east and to the west, and being closed by the mountain range of Čićarija from the north (Fig. 8.1). The only easy way to access it by land is the ancient Roman road from Trieste to Pula, the Via Flavia, dividing Istria in two: the rich western coast with prosperous towns and a large number of Roman *villae*, and central Istria, where the Slav colonization might have started as

25 For the last synthesis see: Terrier *et al.* 2014; Jurković 2016a.

26 For detailed description of all known fortified settlements, see: Jurković 2016a.

early as 600.²⁷ This road was the main axe of the Carolingian penetration in Istria. There are also two transversal routes. The northern one was following the river Mirna (Quietus fl.), from Civitas Nova at its mouth, heading to the passes through the mountain range of Ćićarija. The southern route was following the channel of Lim, starting from Rovinj, passing through Bale, Dvigrad, and then stretching all the way to the eastern coast of Istria ending in Tarsatica (Rijeka). Those three axes, as the main communication routes, had to be controlled by the new imperial power. In addition, it seems that in the first few decades of the Carolingian rule in Istria, the two main bishoprics of Poreč and Pula remained somewhat hostile, belonging to the Church organization depending on the byzantinophile patriarch of Grado.

The vertical axe, the Roman via Flavia, as the most important route, was strategic priority. At this stage of research, evidence is provided by the settlements (going from north to south) of Buje, Lovreč, Bale, Gusan, and Guran. The northern transversal route starts with Civitas Nova, passes through Buje at the crossroads with Via Flavia, then extends towards Motovun and Buzet. The southern communication route is controlled by Rovinj on the coast and then Dvigrad at the end of the Lim channel, and its ramification from Rovinj to Bale again passes the crossroads with Via Flavia, proceeding towards the east coast through Stari Gočan.

The evidence for all aforementioned sites is of varying quality. Starting from the north, the *Placitum Rizianense* mentions, among others: Civitas Nova, Motovun and Buzet, while Buje is mentioned in the other documents from the 10th century onward. Even if we do not possess great amounts of material evidence, the evidence provided by the *Placitum* is sufficient to take these settlements into some consideration. In Buzet, ancient Piquentum, the prehistoric fortified settlement was repopulated in Late Antiquity.²⁸ For Motovun, a few fragments of liturgical furnishings refer to the existence of an early medieval church. However, some recent rescue excavations in the town have unearthed structures belonging to Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages,²⁹ thus confirming the evidence from the *Placitum*.

Fortifications along the Roman road are mostly recognizable by their layout. South of Buje, controlling Poreč, which was still probably a Byzantine possession in the last decades of the 8th century, is Sveti Lovreč (Fig. 8.4). Its oval layout with a spiderweb street pattern suggests a prehistoric origin. It has

27 Levak 2007; 2011. The bulk of this colonization is dated in late 8th century by some authors, see Ančić in this volume.

28 Buršić-Matijašić & Matijašić 2013: 186.

29 Višnjić 2011: 377–79.

been noted that Lovreč was in the 10th c. part of the possessions belonging to the bishop of Poreč, and oldest portions of its ramparts can be dated back to the central part of the early Middle Ages.³⁰ However, the sculpture found around an 11th c. basilica just outside the town walls,³¹ suggests an earlier, medieval church at the site. Finally, a few hundred metres outside of the settlement is a modern cemetery with a modest Romanesque church, in which early medieval *spoliae* have been found, suggesting a Carolingian church on the same spot. This pattern of spatial organization will be crucial in defining the early medieval settlements in Istria.

Further south, the agglomeration of Bale (Fig. 8.5) is situated on the crossroads of the via Flavia and the transversal connection to the seaside and Rovinj. This settlement is also mentioned in the *Placitum*. Bale is also suspected of prehistoric origins, with the same oval layout and spiderweb street layout. The only remnants of the Carolingian period are the liturgical furnishings of the parish church, sculpted by *The Master of the Bale capitals*.³² The church does not exist today, making place for a modern one, but the possibility of reconstruction exists.³³

South of Bale, towards Pula, recent rescue excavations have unearthed half of Gusan (Fig. 8.6) a complex that seems to be a settlement with residential and productive functions (32×25m). It was fortified by walls. All small finds, both ceramics and metal artefacts point to a date between the 8th and the 10th century.³⁴ On the other ramification of the transversal road is the channel of Lim that was controlled by Dvigrad. This settlement was abandoned at the beginning of the 17th c., allowing more data to be collected, and has been subjected to several small scale archaeological investigations. The settlement is of prehistoric origin. In fact, there were two fortified settlements, both built on rocky hilltops. The actual Dvigrad is the former Moncastello, while Castel Parentin was abandoned in the early Middle Ages. The first sources to mention Dvigrad/Moncastello are dated in 879, when the Church jurisdiction switches from Pula to Aquileia, and then in 965 when the Patriarch of Aquileia gives the dime to the bishop of Poreč.³⁵

The centre of the settlement is on a higher position where the main square built on planified bedrock and the Church of St. Sophia dominate the rest of

30 Marušić 1987: 118.

31 Mirabella Roberti 1979/80.

32 Jurković 2002.

33 Matejčić 1996. The reconstruction was based on detailed descriptions and drawings done in the 19th c. after the earlier building was dismantled, see Gnirs 1915: 160–62.

34 Janko 2010.

35 Schiavuzzi 1920: 87–88.

the settlement (Fig. 8.7). Repopulated in Late Antiquity, it had a single naved church with an inscribed self-standing apse touching the eastern wall.³⁶ Following the Carolingian conquest, a new church was built, again with a single nave, having three semicircular apses inscribed in the eastern wall, decorated on the outer face with pilaster strips. The frescoes preserved in the apses are of Carolingian origin.³⁷ The settlement then expanded towards the south. The portions of walls were discovered at the SW and SE angles. The material evidence corresponds with the evidence found in the early medieval church, dating to the end of the 8th and the 9th c.³⁸ Another small-scale excavation revealed a cemetery beyond the SE angle of the fortifications, used already in Late Antiquity until the end of the 10th c.³⁹

The same sort of evidence can be seen in the fortified settlement Stari Gočan (Fig. 8.8).⁴⁰ It was built on a low hilltop between Barban and Svetvinčenat, in the NE edge of the *ager centuriatus* of Roman Pola. In Late Antiquity, new fortification walls were constructed on prehistoric ones, being rebuilt in the early Middle Ages. The settlement has the typical oval layout with a main street on the longitudinal axis and another one circling the walls. The walls are strengthened with eight rectangular towers, and one is built right in the center of the settlement. Within the fortified area, only a few houses were excavated. The dating of the single spatial units, as well as the tower in the centre and the ramparts is based only on the analysis of pottery giving a general habitation span between the 9th and 10th c. Outside the perimeter of the walls, a small single naved church was built. This church is dated on the basis of just a few fragments of sculpture to the 8–9th c.

Guran is the primary example of early medieval settlement in Istria in which an extensive archaeological investigation has been undertaken. It is situated nearby Vodnjan.⁴¹ The settlement is of a polygonal or oval shape (Fig. 8.9). The revealed northern part of the ramparts is thick around 2 m. The outer faces are built of larger blocs of natural stones, while the core is filled with smaller ones. The height of the massive wall was probably not much higher than the foundations, bearing in all probability a wooden palisade above. The settlement is

36 Brogiolo *et al.* 2003: 133.

37 Marušić 1971.

38 Brogiolo *et al.* 2003: 143.

39 Marušić 1970.

40 Excavated partially in the 1950s, it has never been published, except a short preliminary report: Marušić 1987: 116.

41 Although its existence has been known for more than a hundred years (Schiavuzzi 1908: 109), the remains of the settlement were discovered only at the beginning of the 21st century, some 60 m SW from the previously excavated basilica, Terrier *et al.* 2005: 328–30.

built *ex nihilo*, radiocarbon dating allowing us to fix the foundation to the end of the 8th and beginning of the 9th century.⁴²

A monumental entrance is situated in the middle of the wall, facing a huge basilica at some 60m north, and opening to a shoulder of the medieval road leading to Vodnjan. The entrance is reinforced with a portion of walls on each side of the doorposts, turning in an angle of 90 degrees towards north, forming a deep entrance space between them. While the eastern doorpost forms an angle, the western doorpost is slightly curved, allowing an easy turning for the carts entering the fortified settlement and going straight to the west, along the wall perimeter. There was obviously an empty space between the wall and the first houses, forming a street. In the NW part of the settlement the fortification rampart could have been followed all the way until a turn towards south.⁴³ On that very spot a rectangular structure was discovered, positioned at a spot that dominates a field opened westwards and near a crossroads towards Vodnjan. That position suggests that the rectangular space could be a defensive facility, very similar to those found in Stari Gočan.

East of the northern, probably main entrance, the general situation is similar (Fig. 8.10). Some 10m south of the palisade a supporting terrace wall in function of nivellating the terrain is following the same orientation East-West, leaving empty space towards the palisade empty for communication and defence purposes. Only south of that terrace wall the first houses have been detected.⁴⁴ The only building near the walls is situated some 3m south of the wall and in the proximity of the main entrance.⁴⁵ The only door was on the northern wall, facing directly the secondary entrance in the settlement. The function of the building was obviously connected to defence, and was probably directly connected to the ramparts on the upper level. As for the chronology, radiocarbon dating gives a span from 860 onwards, a little later than the ramparts. In later period, still in the early Middle Ages, the outer wall was doubled on both sides of the main gate.⁴⁶ East of the monumental entrance, the small secondary opening has been walled at the same time.

As in the other cases (Lovreč, Gočan, Dvigrad), a cemetery with a church is situated some 300m south of the settlement, at a crossroads that forms a triangular space. One way leads to the settlement and then Vodnjan, the other towards Pula, the third toward NE. The first church is a single naved. It is

42 Terrier *et al.* 2006: 264.

43 Terrier *et al.* 2007: 401–02.

44 Terrier *et al.* 2011: 250.

45 Terrier *et al.* 2007: 398.

46 Terrier *et al.* 2006: 261–63.

connected with a first privileged tomb leaning on the southern wall. Calibrated radiocarbon date places the church in the end of the 8th – beginning of the 9th c. Still in the early Middle Ages, in the 9th/10th c. the church was extended towards west and got a rectangular choir on the eastern side.⁴⁷ The data gathered in Guran can be used as basis for dating in the other settlements in Istria, where only sporadic finds suggest early medieval origin. Furthermore, Guran has already given a number of elements for the better understanding of the micro-topography, the use of space and organizational patterns still missing on other above enumerated sites.⁴⁸

4 Controlling the Territory – Monasteries

The role played by the monasteries is somewhat similar to the one of fortifications – control of the territory, as was the case elsewhere in the Carolingian realm. It is enough to mention for example the monastery of St Riquier – Centula in Normandy, a *provincia maritima* subjected to regular attacks of the Northmen. There, the founder of the monastery and its first abbot was in the same time the *dux* of the province.

In Istria we have material evidence only for three monasteries established under the Carolingian rule. The monastery of St Michael (*sv. Mihovil pod zemljom*) was founded in the vicinity of the ancient Roman road, and nearby the crossroads to Civitas Nova, in a beneficial strategic position.⁴⁹ The monastery of St Andrew on an island in front of Rovinj is mentioned in 858. The only remains are the central part of the church with remnants of fresco decoration of Carolingian provenience.⁵⁰ The monastery of Santa Maria Alta near Bale was recently excavated.⁵¹ Built on a hill, it controls the transversal road from Bale to Rovinj, and dominates the whole territory from Rovinj to Pula, the fertile lands in the flatlands.

The Church of St Mary is a three-naved basilica with three apses, semicircular from the inside, polygonal from the outside. The naves were divided by six pairs of columns, topped with 12 capitals (Fig. 8.11). It has already been established that the sculptor, named *The Master of the Bale capitals*, was probably also the architect. He was sculpting not only the liturgical furnishings, but also

47 Terrier *et al.* 2014: 296.

48 For an up to date analysis see: Jurković 2016a.

49 Unfortunately, the only data we have is a mention in the mid-9th century, Ostojić 1965: 108.

50 Matejčić 2001a: 349.

51 Jurković & Caillet 2007–09.

the architectural sculpture, a fact rare for that time, providing new data on the understanding how a *chantier de construction* works in the early Middle Ages.⁵² The stylistic and morphological characteristics of his work have been already dealt with in longer analysis. The most important points point that in his work *The Master of the Bale capitals* is soft in rendering the interlace ornaments, and leaves free space between the motifs, not being guided by *horror vacui*. He also prefers overdimensioned motifs, and frequently uses zoomorphic ones. We can also spot a tendency towards imitating late antique models in the sculptures, especially the simple mouldering on pilasters or altar *mensae*. In the capitals of the colonnade *The Master of the Bale capitals* uses two ancient models: the leaf capital seen in the late antique cathedral in Pula, and the basket capital imitating the models from the Poreč cathedral.⁵³ On several sculptures a very unusual motif can be found – an etched wawing line, very different from the other decorative patterns, which could be interpreted as a sign or a ‘signature’ of the sculptor.

The output of the workshop of the so-called *Master of the Bale capitals* comprises liturgical furnishings of several churches: Santa Maria Alta near Bale, the Parrish church in Bale, St Thomas near Rovinj, the basilica in Guran, St Sophie in Dvigrad, St Lawrence in Šijana, Novigrad, based on comparative analysis.⁵⁴ It has to be added that the workshop shows a few different hands (masters), all of them complying with the same compositional schemes. So, the workshop was active in practically all churches built in the first decades of the Carolingian presence in Istria. All of those churches have layouts previously not known in Istria, except Santa Maria Alta. The latter is of a classical late antique layout, and there the workshop works on the architectural sculpture as well. There are some indications to see *The Master of the Bale capitals* as the architect of the church. The plan of the church, as well as the furnishings, are characterized by reminiscences of Late Antiquity. We might easily see imitation of late antique models in a new language: the architectural type, the shape of the apses, the colonnade, the capitals, the *transennae*, the impost capitals on *biphorae*, the lintel of the south door typical for Late Antiquity, the morphology of the openings (the ‘key hole’ arches) as well as the use of *spoliae*.

52 Jurković 2012.

53 Jurković 2004.

54 Jurković 2002.

5 Controlling the Territory – Private Domains and the Elites

Private domains contributed to the consolidation of power as well as newly founded monasteries. One of the best examples is the Church of St Thomas near Rovinj (Fig. 8.12), situated in a fertile zone between Rovinj and the Lim channel. The church, isolated in the fields, is single-naved with transept and three apses.⁵⁵ It is securely dated by the liturgical furnishings, produced by the earlier mentioned workshop of *The Master of the Bale capitals*.⁵⁶ In recent excavations, a small number of graves have been found, indicating a family graveyard. However, the most valuable information is provided by the base-ments of the liturgical installations. The nave has its own liturgical installations, covering the crossing between the nave and transept in front of the apse. The northern aisle functions separately: it has its own entrance, and the liturgical installation dividing the already small space into two. It is clearly a private chapel, probably for the patron. On the other hand, the southern aisle has no division at all, and lacks a separate entrance. Instead, on the western wall it has a privileged tomb in the form of *tomba a pozzo*, probably the very tomb of the patron, a member of the Carolingian social elite. Thus the church functions in terms of Eucharist only in the nave, the aisles having different functions, one as a private chapel, and the other as a mausoleum.

The founder of the Church of St Thomas is just one among the participants of the new elite social network at the Istrian peninsula. Another one can be spotted in Guran. Leaning on the south wall of the cemetery Church of St Simon is a privileged grave that has not been forgotten even a few centuries later, after the second transformation of the original church. On the opposite, in the 11th century, this tomb received a construction in elevation, with arcades that even more stressed the importance of the deceased.⁵⁷ However, the most luxurious grave known as far is a decorated sarcophagus from Bale (Fig. 8.13), dated to the second half of the 8th century, the resting place of one of the most distinguished members of the local elite.⁵⁸ Recently, another privileged tomb was found during excavations and conservation works in the Church of St Stephen in Peroj (Fig. 8.14), nearby Vodnjan.⁵⁹ Here again, the church was erected over an already existing tomb, positioned in front of the entrance and an axial bell

55 Matejčić 1997: 11–19.

56 Jurković 2002.

57 Terrier *et al.* 2008: 236.

58 Matejčić 2001b: 340.

59 Matejčić 2016.

tower overlapping the southern edge of the tomb. The position and the respect of the tomb clearly shows that it was meant to be a mausoleum.

6 Church Architecture – Carolingian Models

As said, most churches built in the first decades of the Carolingian rule over Istria belong to two distinct plans – the single nave church with three apses (*Dreiapsidensaalkirche*) (Fig. 8.14) and the single nave with three apses aligned on a transept (Fig. 8.15). Both types are novelty in Istria in the early Middle Ages, the former without antecedents in earlier periods. The single nave church with three semicircular apses in Bale⁶⁰ as well as its variation with the three apses inscribed in the flat eastern wall as in St Sophie in Dvigrad,⁶¹ St Stephen in Peroj (Poreč),⁶² St Cecilia in Guran, St Mary in Ružar. St Gervasius in Pižanovac near Bale is definitely an imported type, being very common in northern Italy and southern Switzerland, in the territory of the Patriarchates of Aquileia and Milan, and in fashion in the last decades of Lombard rule and the first decades of the Carolingian.⁶³ The same goes for the only three nave basilica of Guran, the largest Carolingian church in Istria. It is worth mentioning that the basilica in Guran is the only of its type in Istria, and its first parallel is the mausoleum of the Croat dukes at Crkvina in Biskupija near Knin (see Curta in this volume). Still, the question remains whether this typology could have been transferred even earlier, during the possible Lombard involvement in Istria after the fall of the Exarchate of Ravenna in 751 (see Budak in this volume).

On the other hand, the single nave with three apses aligned on the transept has its late antique antecedents. It was indeed in fashion in the second half of the 8th c. in the Lombard kingdom, most of the churches of the type being commissioned by either the ruling family or high ranking members of the ecclesiastical or social elites (Fig. 8.15). The model could have been transferred to Istria by the Carolingians, especially due to the same memorial functions they bear. However, it is worth saying that the builders of St Thomas near Rovinj and St Clement in Pula (Fig. 8.15) had a possibility to see a late antique example, still in function in the Carolingian period – St Catherine on an islet in

60 Matejčić 1996: 133–39.

61 Marušić 1974.

62 Matejčić 2016.

63 Jurković 2001: 158.

front of Pula.⁶⁴ As it was a mausoleum of a local member of the elite, it can be stated at this stage of the research, that the model, known from Late Antiquity, was a symbol of memorial functions in different regions, following the elites in movement as symbol of power.

7 The Last Carolingian Investments

The conquest of Istria was completed only in 827 when the old bishoprics Trieste, Poreč and Pula became suffragans to the Patriarch of Aquileia. During the 9th and 10th c. the process of intergration in Carolingian empire and western medieval networks went along the remodelling of the monumental landscape. However, the enormous financial input, the investments that took place in the first decades of the Carolingian rule were never met again. Simptomatically, the last interventions of the Carolingian rule in Istria occur in Poreč and Pula.

In Poreč the northern church of the Episcopal complex was transformed from a three nave basilica to a *Dreiapsidensaalkirche*.⁶⁵ In Pula, around the mid 9th century new liturgical furnishings were provided for the cathedral. The baptistery was transformed and a new ciborium installed.⁶⁶ All those changes were probably made by bishop Handegis, what was commemorated on an inscription on an architrave of triangular shape dated to 857.⁶⁷ By that time the see of the duke was already transferred to Friuli, and the once great Civitas Nova with its beautifully adorned cathedral continued living as a provincial town.

The analysis of early medieval architecture in Istria, dated in the few decades of the Carolingian rule, clearly shows the attempts to integrate this peninsula in the imperial networks. This building expansion was short-lived and provides excellent evidence in this period of transformation and integration, facilitating transition of long-held Byzantine possession into the area which will become part of the imperial domain. The imperial power strategically positioned fortifications and the seat of power, relying on the existing Roman communication system, but also encouraged heavy investment in ecclesiastic architecture that provided important symbols enabling local elites to display their power on a local level, but also to remain a part of the imperial system.

64 Gnirs 1911.

65 Matejčić 2001c: 347.

66 Matejčić 2001d: 348.

67 Matejčić 2001e: 347.

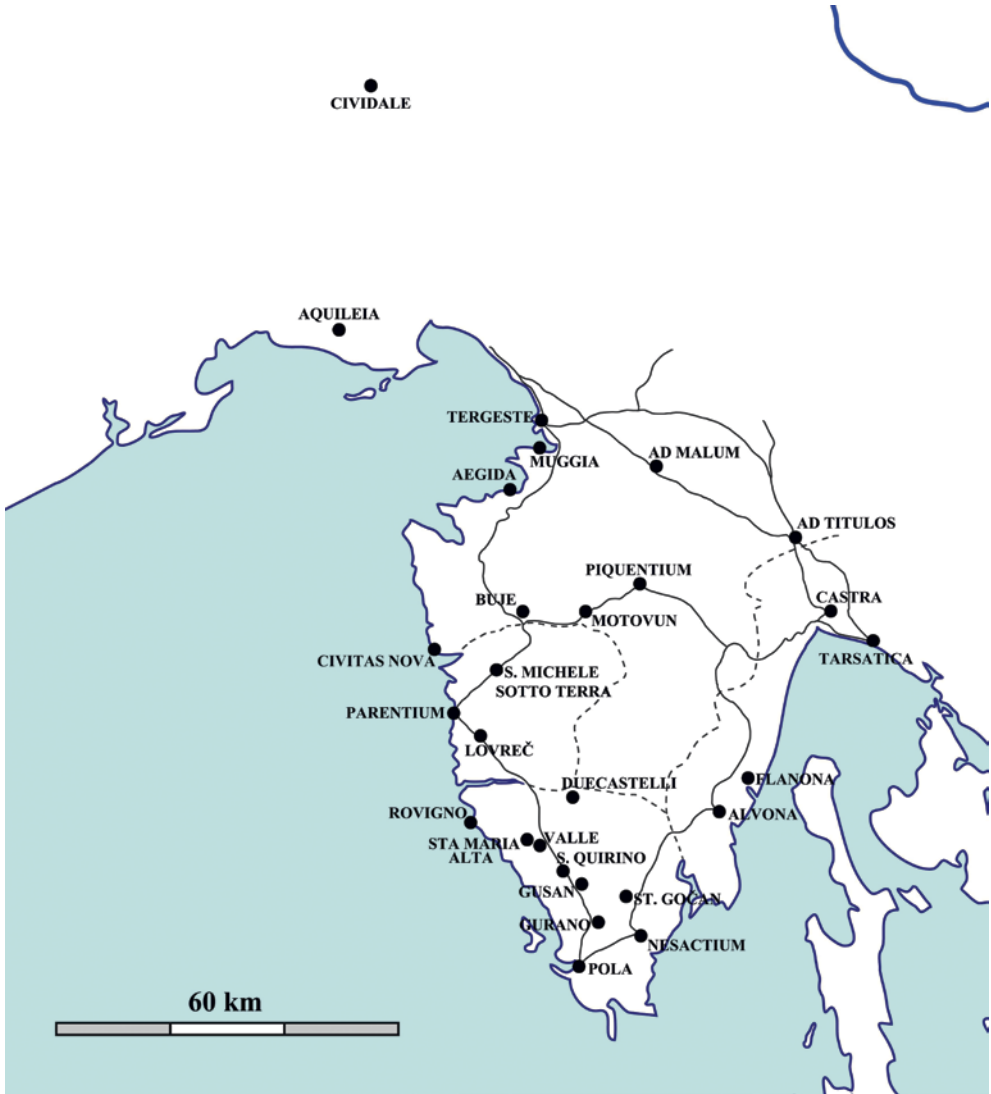


FIGURE 8.1 Istria around 800, with the Roman roads, the late antique dioceses, Carolingian churches and settlements

DRAWING BY I. KRANJEC, ©IMAGE BY AUTHOR

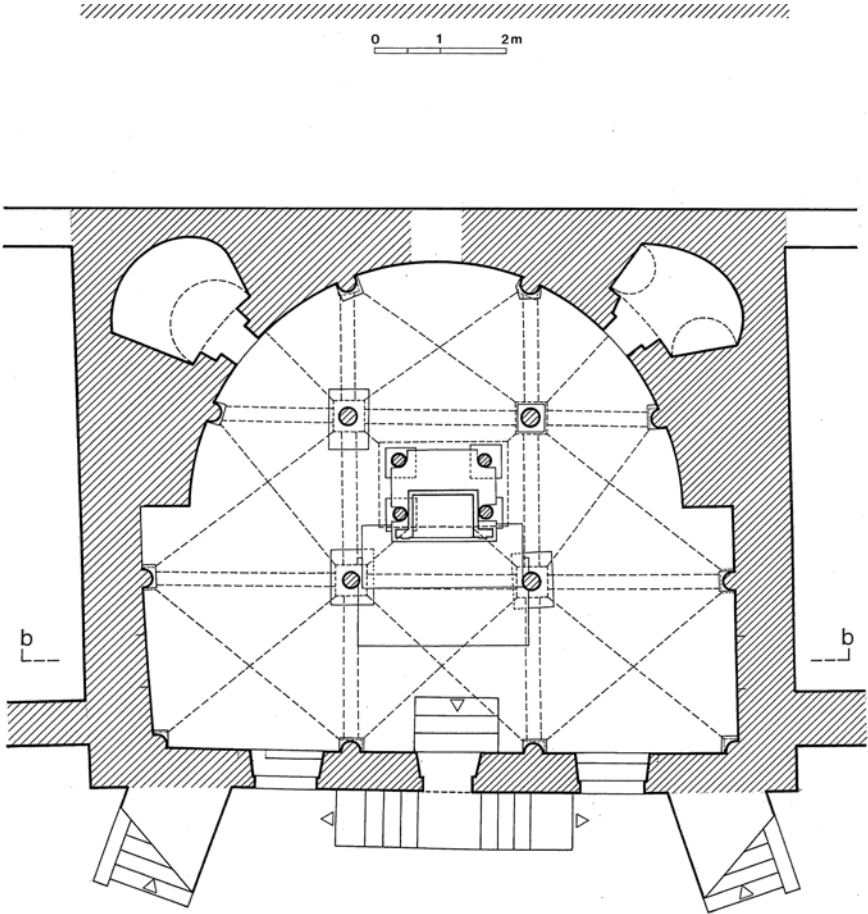


FIGURE 8.2A Novigrad, crypt, plan. From Jurković 2000b: 44
©IMAGE BY AUTHOR

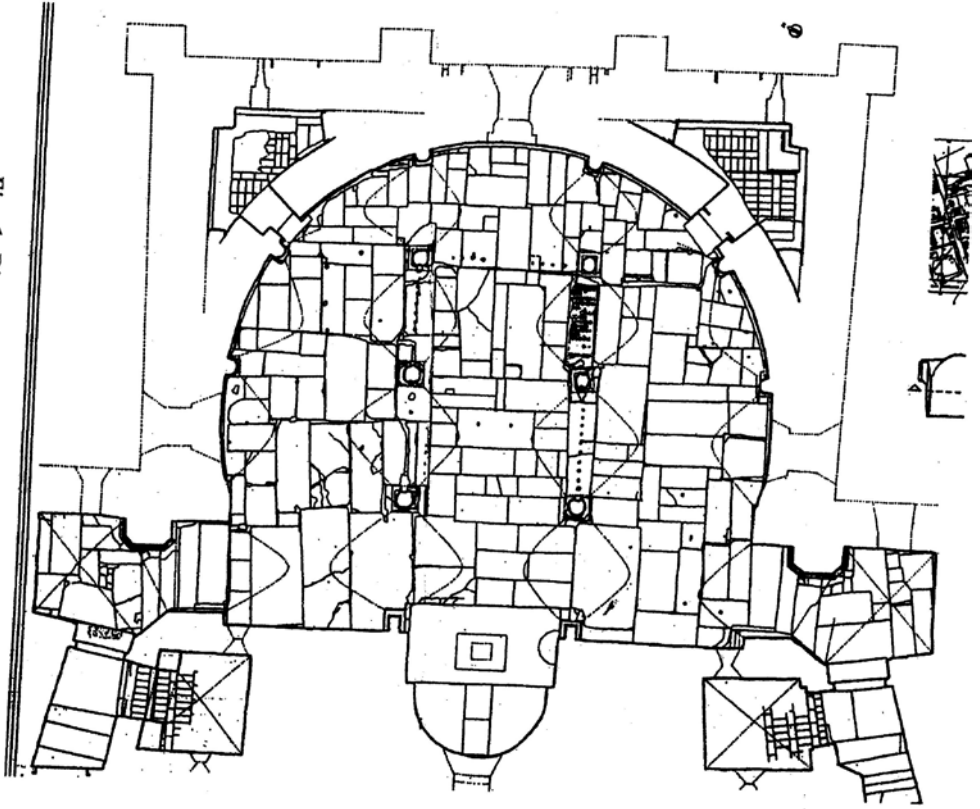


FIGURE 8.2B Aquileia, crypt, plan. From Jurković 2000b: 44



FIGURE 8.3A Novigrad, ciborium. From Jurković 2000b: 52
©PHOTOGRAPH BY AUTHOR



FIGURE 8.3B Cividale, ciborium of patriarch Calixto
 ©PHOTOGRAPH BY AUTHOR

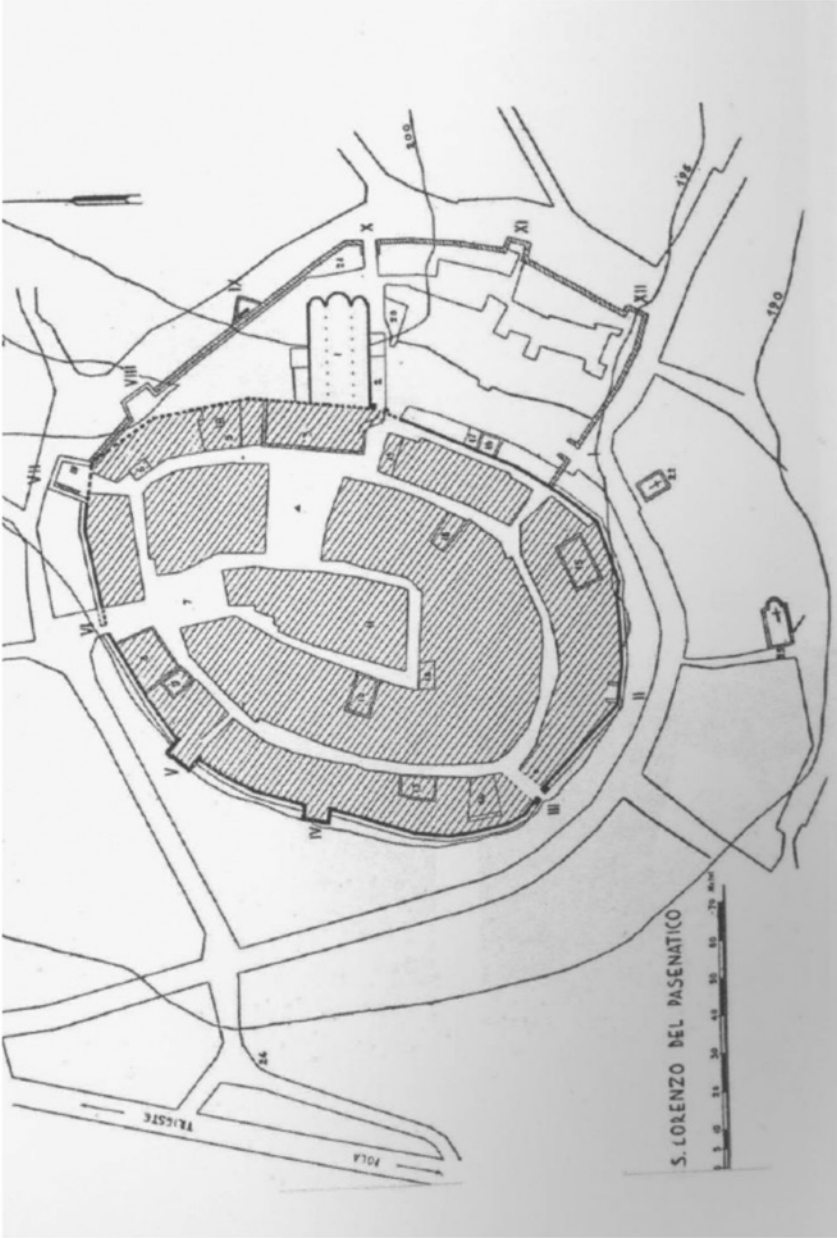


FIGURE 8.4 Sv. Lovreč, plan. From Jurković 2016a: 255, after Mirabella Roberti 1979/80



FIGURE 8.5 Bale, cadastral plan, 1820. From Jurković 2016a: 256



FIGURE 8.6 Gusan, excavated zone, aerial view. From Jurković 2016a: 257
COURTESY OF ARHEOLOŠKI MUZEJ ISTRE, PULA



FIGURE 8.7 Dvigrad, plan. After Brogiolo *et al.* 2003, modified by author

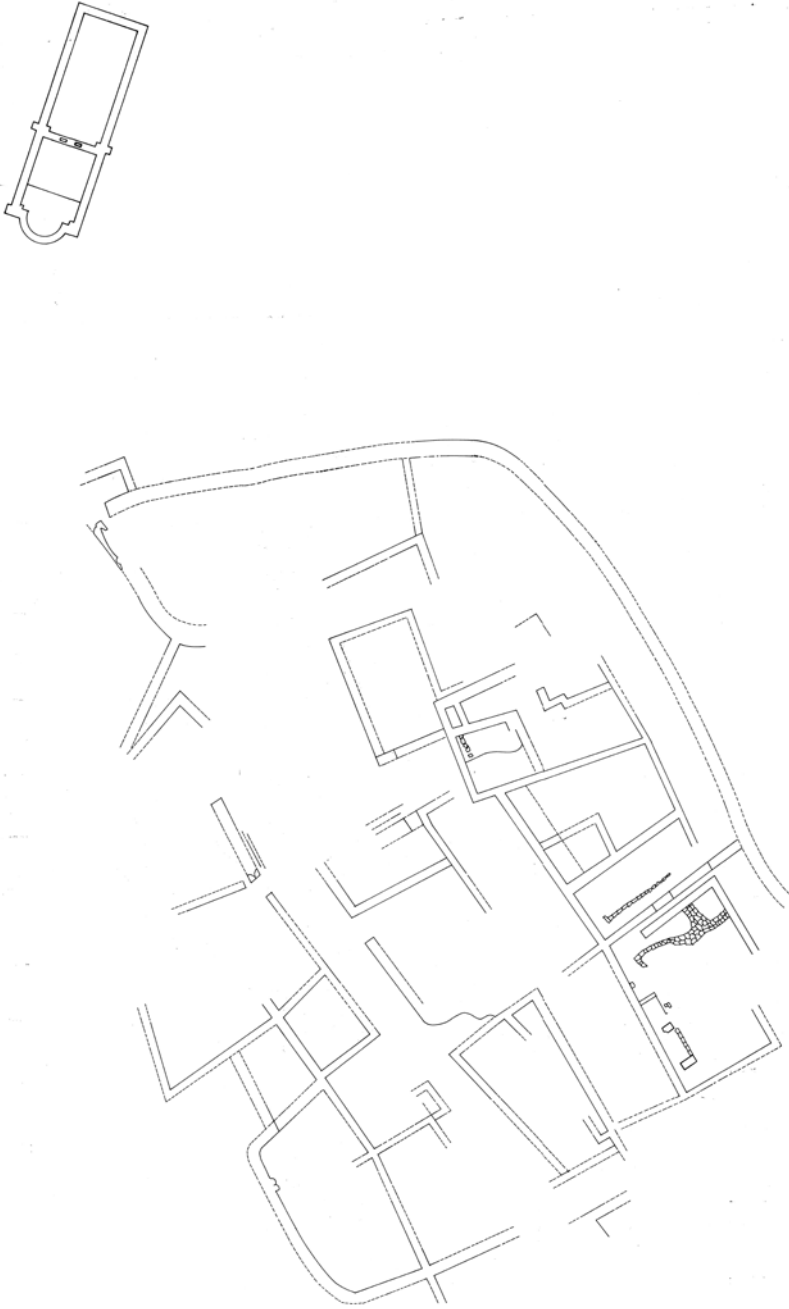


FIGURE 8.8 Stari Gočan, plan of the excavated area. From Jurković 2016a: 253
COURTESY OF ARHEOLOŠKI MUZEJ ISTRE, PULA

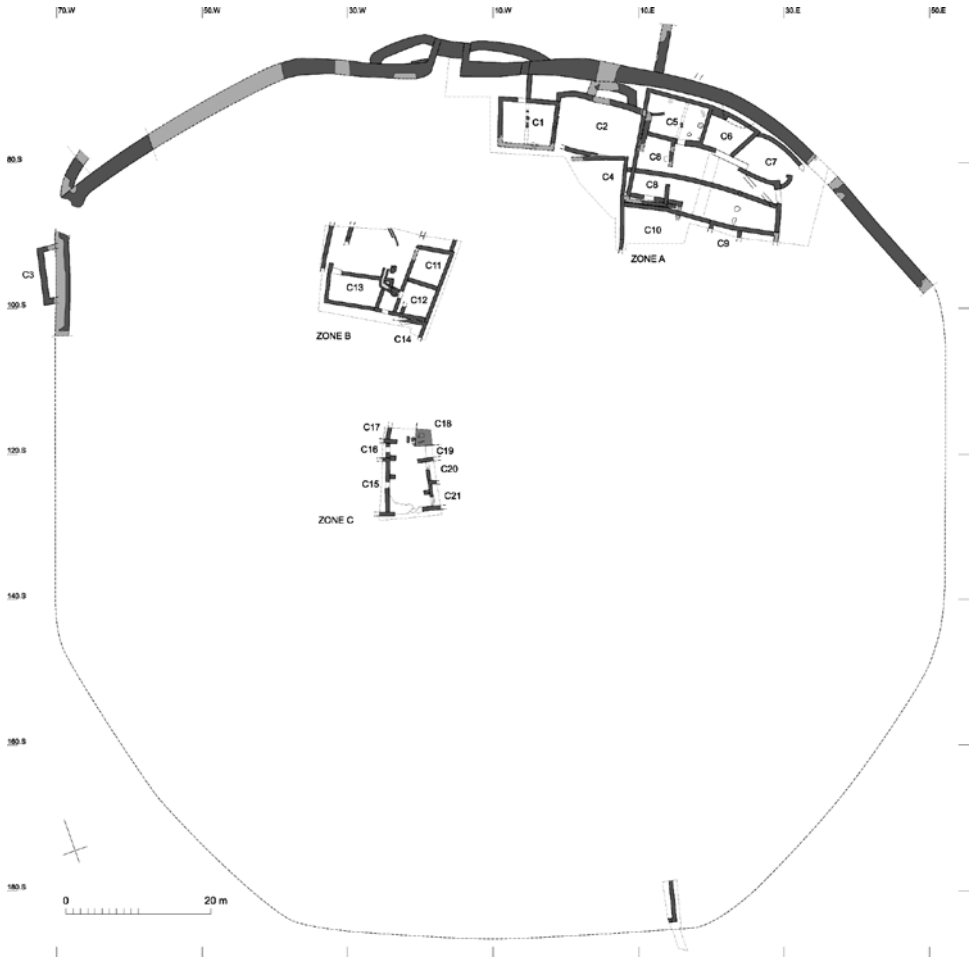


FIGURE 8.9 Guran, schematic plan of excavated zones, situation 2012. From Jurković 2016a: 251
After Terrier, Jurković, Matejčić, drawing M. Berti



FIGURE 8.10 Guran, plan of the northern walls, phases I and II. From Jurković 2016a: 252
After Terrier, Jurković, Matejčić, drawing M. Berti

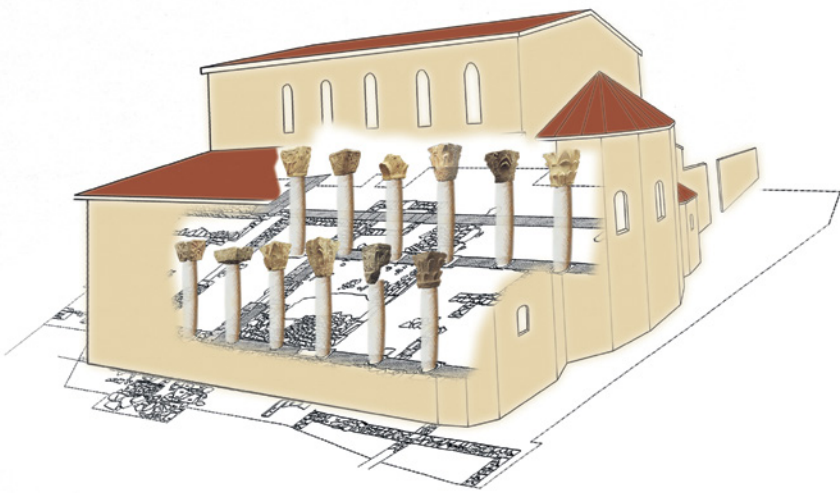


FIGURE 8.11 Bale, Santa Maria Alta, reconstruction
©IMAGE BY AUTHOR



FIGURE 8.12 St Thomas near Rovinj
©PHOTOGRAPH BY AUTHOR



FIGURE 8.13 Bale, sarcophagus, 8th century
©PHOTOGRAPH BY A. Z. ALAJBEG

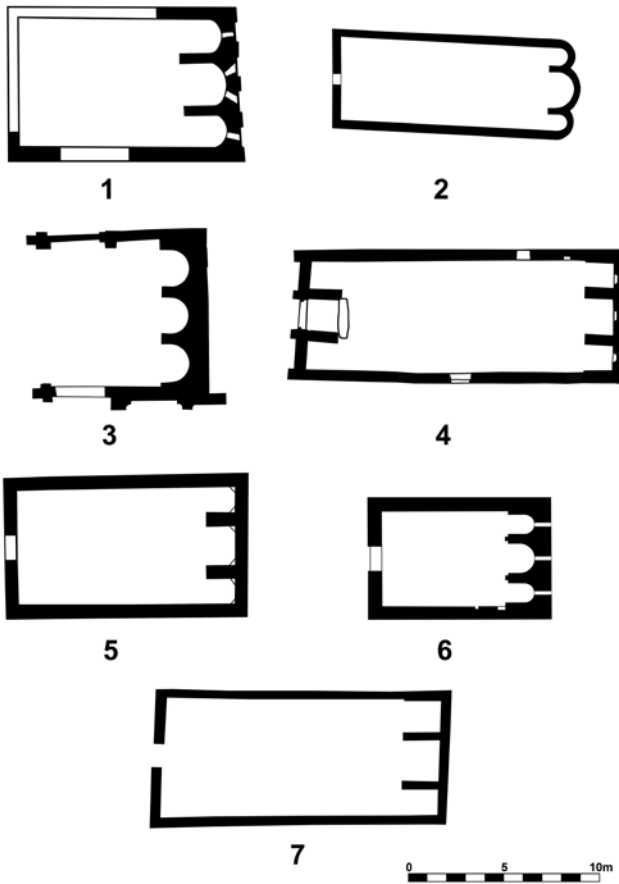


FIGURE 8.14
Single nave churches with three apses: 1. Saint Sophie, Dvigrad;
2. Bale; 3. Poreč; 4. Saint Stephen, Peroj; 5. Saint Mary, Ružar;
6. Saint Gervasius, Pižanovac;
7. Saint Cecily, Guran
DRAWING BY I. KRANJEC,
©IMAGE BY AUTHOR

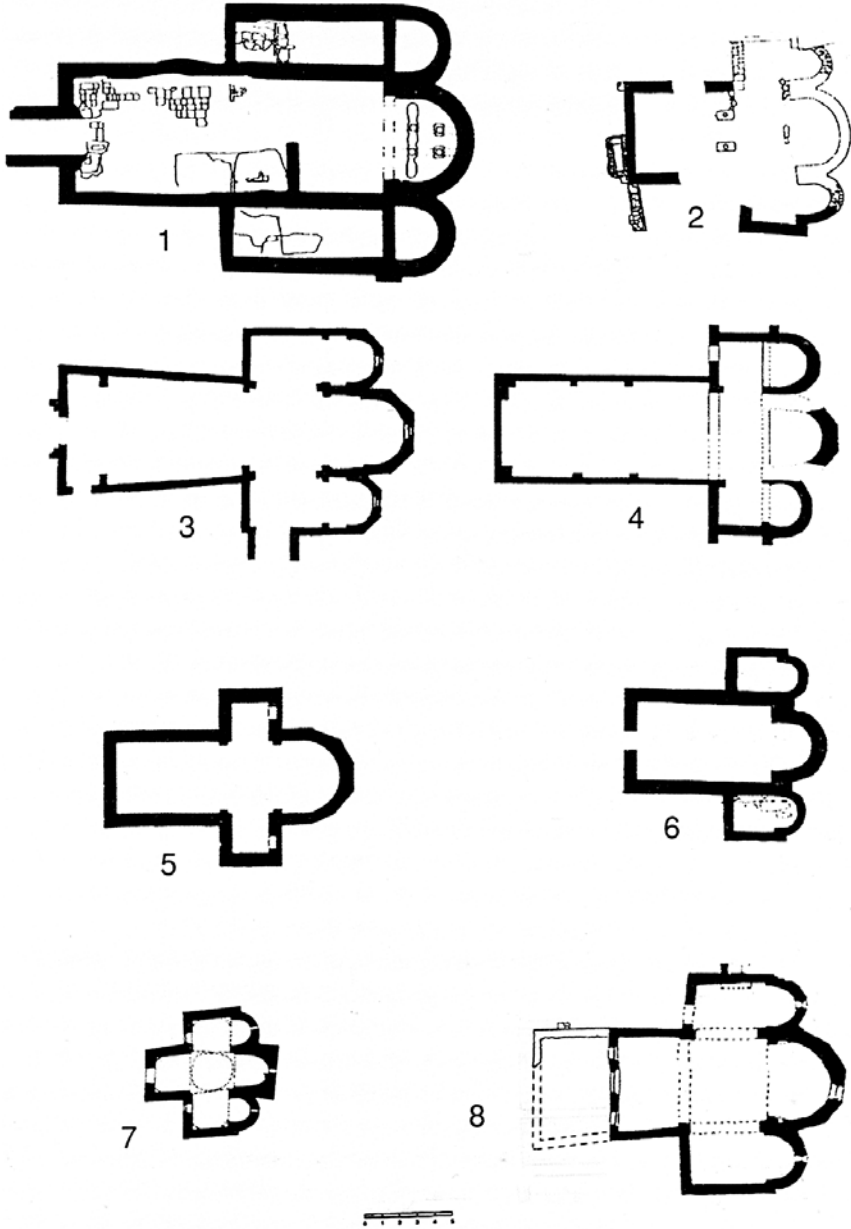


FIGURE 8.15 Single nave churches with three apses on the transept: 1. Brescia, San Salvatore, 1 phase; 2. Sesto al Reghena; 3. Pula, St Clement; 4. Toulouse, St Pierre-des-cuisines; 5. Quarazze, San Pietro; 6. Begovača; 7. Nin, Holy Cross; 8. Rovinj, St Thomas. From Jurković 2000a: 173. After, I. Matejčić, modified by author

The Collapse and Integration into the Empire: Carolingian-Age Lower Pannonia in the Material Record

Krešimir Filipec

In the last fifteen years, a small but significant step forward has been taken in the research of Carolingian-age Lower Pannonia (*Pannonia inferior*), which corresponds chiefly to modern northern Croatia). Substantial progress has been made not only in regards to the archaeological research, which is now more robust than before, but also in relation to the way the new finds are interpreted. This is especially true when one compares more recent interpretations to the approach taken in previous decades, when this part of the Republic of Croatia was systematically neglected in favour of other parts of Croatia and the neighbouring countries. Northern Croatia is situated approximately between sites with rich early medieval 'old-Croat' finds in Dalmatia and the very well researched areas of Hungary and Slovenia.

Archaeological investigation of early medieval sites in this area began during the time of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, but went through a period of a stagnation during the kingdom of Yugoslavia (1918–1941), continuing in the Communist Yugoslavia. The neglect of northern Croatia in the archaeological research may be attributed, to a large extent, to the unfavourable status of Croatia in the Yugoslav political construct, where South Slavic unity was emphasised at the expense of national histories. As a result, archaeological research related to the study of Croatian past were very often not funded and thus never conducted, with very few exceptions. In that sense, the archaeological research of northern Croatia could not keep up with southern Croatia, especially in Dalmatia where the research centers of Split and Zadar are located, falling gravely behind the neighboring central European countries. In such unfavourable political circumstances, other questions, in those days more-or-less politically neutral, were mostly posed. For example: the time of the Slavic migration, the period of the Avar-Slavic symbiosis, and the question of the so-called Bijelo Brdo culture as a supranational archaeological culture that mostly connects the Slavic peoples in the Carpathian Basin, i.e. central and southern Europe. In that period, mostly protective archaeological excavations were conducted, with very few targeted archaeological digs or research projects. The

period was marked by the research done by employees of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, mainly Zdenko Vinski and Slavenka Ercegović, and then, in the 1980s, other prominent individuals from other institutions, among whom Željko Tomičić should be mentioned.

Since 1991 and the establishment of Croatian independence little has changed, as almost all the old academic structures have remained. In the late 1990s, interest in the study of early Croatian history seemed to have diminished abruptly and it looked as if there was nothing new to be added. This can be seen particularly in the number of research projects funded by the ministries in charge during the last twenty or so years, but also in the number of published papers or books.¹ Three of the leading research institutions in northern Croatia provide a good example of this: Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, the Department of Archaeology at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of the University of Zagreb, and the Institute of Archaeology in Zagreb. Since 1990, they have kept the number of archaeologists who study the medieval period unchanged while the number of archaeologists who study prehistoric and Graeco-Roman archaeology has tripled during the same period. It is important to stress that during the era of Communist Yugoslavia for every archaeologist studying the medieval period (along with the late Middle Ages and the Early Modern period) there were three or four archaeologists studying the ancient archaeology and a similar or possibly larger number of archaeologists who studied prehistoric archaeology. For the occasion of the exhibition “The Croats and the Carolingians” in Split in 2000/2001, the results of these archaeological investigations and the state of research at that time were presented.² The state of research into the Carolingian era in modern-day Croatian territory was also presented at two scholarly conferences in Zadar in 2012 dedicated to the millennial anniversary of the Treaty of Aachen, and at the 2nd International Conference of Medieval Archaeology entitled “Medieval Settlements in the Light of Archaeological Sources” held in Zagreb in 2015.³

1 Jarak 2006: 183–224.

2 Tomičić 2000: 142–61; Milošević 2000a: 2.84–116. Cf. Tomičić 2010a who offers a survey of the state of research at that time. One new site with Carolingian-age artefacts discovered by chance has been mentioned, the gravel pit Jegeniš near Koprivnica, published by Tatjana Sekelj, and, at that time, new finds discovered at the Lobor-Majka Božja Gorska (Our Lady of the Mountains) site after long-running excavations led by the author of this chapter (Tomičić 2010a: 98–99, 107–10).

3 The first was entitled “The Croatian Archaeology and the Treaty of Aachen”, and the second “The Treaty of Aachen, AD 812: The Origins and Impact on the Region between the Adriatic, Central, and Southeastern Europe” (Ančić *et al.* 2018). The 2nd international scientific Conference of Medieval Archaeology was dedicated to the subject of medieval settlements – several newly investigated early medieval structures with an elongated-oval plan

The region between the rivers Drava and Sava, i.e. the area of the former Carolingian-age Lower Pannonia (*Pannonia inferior*), as it is called in the Frankish sources from the first decades of the 9th century, has been gradually put on the map through the publication of various finds over the last hundred years or so. These publications have rarely been based on new archaeological research, but rather on the analysis of previously unpublished artefacts kept in museum depots, which have been discovered as accidental finds or bought from the people who find them. Even today such artefacts are acquired from destroyed graves and cemeteries.⁴ The Carolingian era in northern Croatia is a period that has not been adequately addressed or accounted for. It might be expected that important research issues such as the nature of habitation south of the river Drava during the first decades of the 9th century, characteristics of cemeteries and settlements, the processes of Christianization and feudalization, the shape and distribution of fortifications, the chronology of small archaeological material and pottery, as well as the issues of group identities and political borders would have been solved with the aid of recent archaeological investigations. However, the majority of these issues have yet to be solved. Another important research question is whether the Croats already lived in Pannonia in the 9th century or whether there were other Slavs who 'became Croat' during their integration with the Croats in their joint state? This issue has to some extent been tackled in the most recent publication on the history of Lower Pannonia from an archaeological-historical perspective.⁵

After the collapse of Avar overlordship, northern Croatia was chiefly a part of the province of Lower Pannonia, which encompassed the area between the rivers Drava and Sava, and the area south of the river Sava. Parts of modern Croatia north of the river Drava, such as Međimurje and a part of Podravina (the region along the river Drava/north of Đelekovec-Torčec), and Baranya, belonged, at that time, to Upper Pannonia (*Pannonia superior*), which was later acquired by the dukes Pribina and Kocel. The northern border zone of the Frankish province of Dalmatia and Liburnia, (the Croat Duchy), began south of Sisak in the region of Banovina, approximately where the border between the Roman provinces of Dalmatia and Pannonia ran. It encompassed southern parts of Pokuplje along the river Kupa and stretched towards the southern foothill area of the valley of the river Sava (Posavina). Historians have chiefly

were presented, and contemporaneous assemblages were recognized in the vicinity that have been interpreted as several small early medieval households, Sekelj Ivančan *et al.* 2017.

4 Filipec 2009b; 2015: 76–90, 270–76.

5 Filipec 2015.

written about the borders of the provinces, and the Croatian archaeology has not yet expressed its opinion, since there is no reliable evidence.⁶ That means that the approximate delimitation between the provinces, as given here, is more a matter of spatial analysis and less a result of systematic archaeological investigations. During the Carolingian-era, the area south of the river Drava was part of the March of Friuli, and north of this river stretched the March of Bavaria, i.e. the Archdiocese of Salzburg. After the administration of frontier districts had been rearranged in 828, Lower Pannonia was increasingly tied to Bavaria and this bond lasted until the early 10th century when the Frankish overlordship over the province ended. Archaeological research still does not sufficiently confirm the events from written historical evidence such as the Avar-Frankish wars in the early 9th century, the rebellion of *dux* Liudevit of Lower Pannonia in 819–823, and the entry of the Bulgars in Podravina and parts of Frankish Pannonia after 827. The situation is no better until the late 9th century, when *dux* Braslav ruled over the region between the Sava and Drava, as well as Mosapurc (modern Zalavár in western Hungary) and the local agglomeration which had a very important role in that part of the Frankish Empire throughout the 9th century.

The historical evidence mostly refers generally to the region between the rivers Drava and Sava: fortified settlements on high, inaccessible hills, the *civitas* Sisak (ancient Siscia) abandoned by *dux* Liudevit, and the unnamed burnt places along the river Drava following the incursion of the Bulgars into Frankish Pannonia. Accidental finds of archaeological artefacts suggest the high degree of importance Sisak had at that time. Even though recent finds have confirmed continuity of settlement throughout the 7th and 8th until the early 9th century, they have not offered any new insights into the 9th century in Sisak.⁷ Although there are more recent studies which discussed Sisak and its function in this period, they are mostly based on outdated research. What may be said with certainty is that there was continuity of settlement in the urban area or in its immediate vicinity throughout the 7th and 8th centuries.⁸ Questions regarding the role of Sisak in the 9th century remain unanswered, as no early medieval layer has been discovered during any of the archaeological research that have been conducted thus far. In 2003, a Carolingian-age winged spear, a stray find from Lasinjska Kiselica in Pokuplje, southwest of Sisak was published. The paper in question linked the spear with Liudevit's rebellion and an attempt to protect a ford across the river Kupa. Indirectly, according

6 Gračanin 2011; Sokol 2016 (the survey of the state of historiographic research).

7 Burkowsky 1999: 85–92; Filipec 2001; 2003.

8 Schulze-Dörrlamm 2009a: 107–12.

to Luka Bekić, the spear would outline the borders of Liudevit's dukedom.⁹ Additionally, an early medieval winged spear, a stray find from the vicinity of Dugo Selo, has been published by Željko Demo (Fig. 9.2).¹⁰ His paper has brought new insights regarding this kind of weapon on a pole, similarly to the article of Aralica and Ilkić on old and new Avar-age *palashes* (single-edged swords), complementing our knowledge about the origins and the period of use of that weapon in the earlier part of the late Avar period.¹¹ The discovery of a battle axe in the river Glina near Marinbrod southwest of Sisak has prompted a discussion about the borders of the late Avar Qaganate and the appearance of artefacts of nomadic provenance. This find should outline approximately the zone of influence of the Avars and their subjects, extending them south, towards the Croat duchy (Fig. 9.1).¹²

The most recent finds came from still unpublished excavations from 2015, from Bojna near Glina in Banovina, where remains of a pre-Romanesque church with a surrounding cemetery were been discovered. Some graves contained Carolingian-age artefacts (spurs and a pendant), along with a gold coin with images of Constantine V Copronymus and Leo IV (760–775). Pits with fragments of ceramic vessels have been found around the church and cemetery. Based on these artefacts, this early medieval fortified settlement (*gradište*) may be linked to similar settlements in the area between the rivers Zrmanja and Cetina in Dalmatia. These finds could perhaps confirm that the influence coming from the littoral area, where the gold coins with Constantine V Copronymus and Leo IV are more common, reached the northern borders of the former Roman province of Dalmatia. The finds from Bojna are very important from a comparative perspective when taken with other Carolingian-era stray finds from northern Croatia and northwestern Bosnia (Ozalj, Lasinjska Kiselica, the sites near Prijedor and Banja Luka), for determining whether these areas were integrated into the social networks of Frankish Pannonia or the Croat duchy in Dalmatia. It is not out of the question that precisely such investigations might determine the northern border and influences of the Croat duchy towards Pannonia during the 9th and the early 10th centuries.

In the High Middle Ages, Zagreb seems to have overtaken the role of Sisak as the centre of the province between the rivers Drava and Sava. The question of the origins of Zagreb is still open. Small archaeological findings close to the Franciscan church at the Zagreb Kaptol (in the historical core of the city), have

9 Bekić 2003.

10 Demo 2010.

11 Aralica & Ilkić 2012.

12 Filipec 2003; 2010a.

confirmed indications of settlement from the 8th century.¹³ There has been no other progress made in the research of the city area, other than the analysis of artefacts found long ago, including both finds discovered probably close to the Zagreb cathedral and earlier finds from Podsused near Zagreb.¹⁴

Archaeological research in Posavina, Slavonia and Sylvania have shown that there are also numerous archaeological sites in this region. Older and more recent research confirms that there is no break in continuity of settlement at some locations that were settled following the collapse of the Avar Qaganate. In Posavina, eastern Slavonia, Sylvania, Baranya and Podravina, a settlement layer, which indicates the continuation of habitation in these places after burials in large Avar-age cemeteries had ceased in the early 9th century, has only just begun to be defined. The 9th century horizon has so far been elusive in the archaeological research. A number of sites have been located in this region (Stari Perkovci, Stružani, Virovitica-Kiškorija-jug, Đakovački Selci-Kaznica Rutak), to which can be added another two excavated sites located adjacent to the right bank of the Sava (Buzin, Šepkovčica).¹⁵ The publication of earlier excavations and the Avar-age finds has begun (Otok near Vinkovci, Stari Jankovci, Privlaka-Gole Njive, Borinci, Popovac in Baranya, Osijek, Dalj-Pustarice, Dalj-Bogaljevci),¹⁶ but new sites have also been discovered. The most interesting of these new sites are large Avar-age cemeteries in Nuštar, Šarengrad and Bapska, a cemetery with cremation burials in Vinkovci, and probably a younger cremation cemetery in Belišće-Zagajci (Figs. 9.3–4).¹⁷ Similarly, results from excavations conducted at new locations in the area of Vinkovci, Sotin, the environs of Slavonski Brod, Đakovo and Osijek, as well as other areas, have also begun to be published.¹⁸ These are chiefly excavations of settlements and parts of settlements along the route of newly built roads and highways. These finds have confirmed that the Croatian part of the region along the river Danube (*Podunavlje*) and Podravina was densely populated in the Avar-age. A cemetery with cremation burials in Belišće-Zagajci was located in a prominent position, on a sandy ledge between the rivers Karašica and Drava, close to the road that connected the ancient Iovalia (modern-day Valpovo) with Sopianae

13 Demo 2007: 7–8, 26–30.

14 Demo 2007; Petrinec 2009a: 161–64; Bilogrivić 2009.

15 Bugar 2008; Filipec *et al.* 2009; Sekelj Ivančan 2010; Sekelj Ivančan & Tkalčec 2010; Lozuk 2011; Sekelj Ivančan 2015; 2016. Fundamental published data about excavated sites in the region between the Drava and Sava Rivers, with metric and comprehensive data about structures from the 9th century are available in Sekelj Ivančan 2016: Tab. 1.

16 Filipec 2003; Rapan Papeša 2007; Bojčić 2009: 23–32; Filipec 2010b.

17 Sekelj Ivančan & Tkalčec 2006; Rapan Papeša 2012; 2014; Filipec 2008a.

18 Sekelj Ivančan 2001; Ilkić 2007; Sekelj Ivančan 2016.

(modern-day Pécs).¹⁹ This small community buried its dead there for only a short period of time. The entire area of the cemetery has been excavated and about thirty graves have been registered – a portion of the graves have been destroyed due to excavation of sand at the site. This is the largest completely investigated cremation cemetery in modern-day Croatia. The burials were chiefly in simple pits, somewhat less commonly in urns which were placed in larger grave pits, and, in one case, a grave without urn has been discovered. The latter burial was in some organic material, the remains of which have not been preserved. The urns are made of poorly refined hand-made clay, containing a lot of pebbles, sand and other kinds of impurities. Very similar urns have been found at the sites of Vinkovci-Duga ulica 99 and at other cemeteries and settlements throughout the Carpathian Basin. After many decades of investigations in the area of northern Croatia, where the existence of cremation cemeteries had been previously assumed, three sites have now been confirmed to have been places where this practice took place: Vinkovci-Duga ulica 99, Belišće-Zagajci, and Lobor-Majka Božja Gorska.²⁰ These sites pose a number of questions, especially methodological ones, since it is quite clear now that similar graves and similar cemeteries had been previously assumed to have existed at some positions, but have not been recognized as such or have been interpreted as being pits with remains of hearths and campfires. This especially applies to the ‘old-Croat’ cemetery in Petoševci near Banja Luka, where, despite recent reinterpretations of earlier finds, there has been no attempt to re-open this issue, let alone solve it.²¹ During investigations at the cemetery at the Đakovo-Župna crkva site, fragments of pottery vessels have been found at various positions within the cemetery dating back to the 10th/11th–16th centuries.²² The fragments could be connected with similar fragments from Stari Jankovci, where continuation of habitation in a settlement close to the cemetery extended back to the very beginning of the 9th century. The fragments have clearly shown that a settlement has existed continuously at that position since the 8th century. Single houses and entire settlements have been investigated along the route of the Slavonian highway, as well as in various protective excavations (Stari Perkovci-Debeli šuma, Sotin, Figs. 9.5–6).²³ Much of this material has still not been published. Other questions have also been discussed by earlier publications including the publications of artefacts from Požeški Brestovac.²⁴

19 Filipec 2008a; 2015: 76–90.

20 Sekelj Ivančan & Tkalčec 2006; Filipec 2008a; 2015: 76–90 pic. 23–24.

21 Tomičić 2010b.

22 Filipec 2012: 158–70.

23 Sekelj Ivančan 2010; Filipec *et al.* 2009; Filipec 2012: 24; Sekelj Ivančan 2016.

24 Tomičić 2002; 2010; 2013; Bühler 2014.

In recent years, several excavations were carried out in the area between the Sava and Drava rivers, during which the remains of several small settlements tentatively dated to the 9th century were recorded and excavated. According to the horizontal stratigraphy, one can observe that the spatial boundaries of the older buildings from the late 8th and first half of the 9th century had been respected. The newly constructed and utilized structures in the area from the second half of the 9th and the early 10th century were built in a nearby area that had not been occupied in the past.²⁵ During archaeological research in Podravina and the surrounding environs, parts of a 9th century settlement which show a similarity with this horizon, were found. Numerous micro-localities around Varaždin, Đelekovec, Torčec and Koprivnica, attest to the continuity of life from the 7th to 11th centuries.²⁶ Substantial progress has been made in the systematization of the material and attempts at establishing the chronological scheme of pottery artefacts.²⁷ This is especially significant, since previous publications have dated this material within a span of two or more centuries. A single grave from the Torčec-Cirkvišča site contained vessels, which show a great similarity with the so-called 'group with pottery vessels', which is typical for the 8th and 9th centuries in a wider area.²⁸ Accidental finds of winged spears and other artefacts of Carolingian provenance also show the importance of this area, and possibly even a cemetery has been discovered. In that area, the river Drava had repeatedly meandered throughout its history and a portion of the finds belong to the Principality of Pribina and Kocel and, accordingly, to Upper Pannonia. Hence, finds from the gravel pit Jegeniš should perhaps be connected to networks extending north of the river Drava.²⁹ Along the route of the highway in the surroundings of Varaždin, traces of settlements have been discovered at several positions and fragments of pottery vessels from the 8th and 9th centuries have been published (Šemovec-Šarnjak, Blizna by Jakopovec, Varaždin-Brezje).³⁰ Also, the first more comprehensive attempts at the systematization of pottery fragments in Podravina from the conquest by the Slavs and Avars until the 8th century have been made.³¹

25 Sekelj Ivančan 2016.

26 Sekelj Ivančan 2008.

27 Sekelj Ivančan & Tkalčec 2010.

28 Krznar 2013.

29 Sekelj Ivančan 2004; 2007.

30 Bekić 2008; 2009; Sekelj Ivančan 2010: 19–20, 171 pic. 2; Bekić 2016: 47–49, 54–66; Sekelj Ivančan 2016: 626–27.

31 Sekelj Ivančan 2010: 103–40.

The most important research for expanding knowledge of the 9th century in the Croatian part of Pannonia has been conducted in Lobar as protective excavations which were continuously carried out as part of the renovations of the existing church and shrine of Majka Božja Gorska (Our Lady of the Mountains) from 1998 until 2016 (Fig. 9.7).³² These excavations have shown that this was one of the more important centers of the Duchy of Lower Pannonia in the 9th century. Within the late antique fortress, fortified with a large earthen wall and a palisade, close to the remains of an Early Christian church, burials (including cremations) had started in the late 8th century, and the remaining archaeological layers have also shown that this site was settled at approximately that time. In the early 9th century, a single-nave timber church with a square apse and a porch was built on the southern side of the remains of an Early Christian church with a separated baptistery building in the part of the cemetery where cremations were probably carried out (Fig. 9.8).³³ Of the timber church, only trenches and pits in which wooden pillars were once vertically implanted have been preserved. Inside the church, there was a floor partially made of clay mixed with rubble partially resting on a bedrock. The holes for pillars are extant, probably the remains of a wooden altar screen. The nave with the apse was about 11 meters long, and about 6 meters wide. During the 9th century, a cemetery of a Christianized population was formed around the timber church.³⁴ A grave of a young woman (grave 536) is located in the apse of the timber church, and cast silver botryoid earrings as well as oval knee-shaped chain links date the grave to the second half of the 9th century. These artefacts indicate that the deceased who was buried in the church was of higher social status. A larger triple-nave church, with a vestibule and a bell-tower along the front of the church, was also erected on the site of the Early Christian church with a separate baptistery building. The triple-nave church was constructed in the late 9th and the early 10th century, and by the 10th century at the latest. From the front wall to the end of the southern apse, the church would have measured about 24 meters long and about 13 meters wide. The church was entered through the bell-tower on the southern side. The wooden church and the pre-Romanesque church stood side by side for a time. The walls of the triple-nave church were divided with lesenes; the lesenes at the bottom part resemble contraphors. The central apse of the church is still visible within the shrine of the existing Gothic church and is more than two meters high. The interior of the church was remodeled

32 Filipec 2007; 2008b; 2009a; 2010c; 2013; 2016: 262–69. See also Curta, this volume.

33 Filipec 2008b: 52–56; 2009b; 2010c.

34 Filipec 2009b.

several times during subsequent centuries. A vaulted tomb of a young man was located in the northern part of the vestibule, who was very likely a member of an elite family. The large number of pre-Romanesque sculpture fragments are a testament to the wealth of the prince or some other dignitary. Based on the workmanship and styling characteristics, some of the liturgical furniture and architectural sculpture may be dated between the 9th and 11th centuries.

Among various artefacts, bone parts of the planking of a wooden reliquary dating, based on styling characteristics, to the 9th century have been discovered. The reliquary was most likely placed in the timber church, where almost all its fragmented parts have been found. Graves of the older layer (the 9th to the mid-10th centuries) around the church contained almost no artefacts. The artefacts have been discovered in the already mentioned grave of a young woman (grave 536) located in the apse of the timber church (earrings), and in the grave of a very young girl (grave 895) where filigree decorative buttons of the so-called Moravian type were found. In another grave (grave 7) situated in the northern part of the cemetery, an iron knife has been discovered, and there was a deceased person in the first row, at the front, next to whose skeletal remains have been found arrows with which the person was shot. The shapes of grave pits indicate that wooden coffins were used in burials, which is also one of the characteristics of 9th-century burials for the upper classes. Since the interior of the existing church has still not been excavated, many problems related to its construction, the dating of discovered artefacts and numerous ornamented stone fragments remain unsolved. Thus, it is not quite clear whether the Early Christian church was renovated and, in its interior, a smaller church was erected. The oldest stone fragments of the church furniture could have belonged to this church. It is not even out of the question that all of the stone fragments do not belong to this church, but to another one that has not been discovered as far. Most of the site has still not been excavated. South of the church, starting from the elevated part of the site in the *suburbium*, fragments of pottery have been found, indicating that the settlement was located in that part of the site. So far, it seems that this site was the most important center of the Aquileian missionary area in Lower Pannonia, probably the seat of the duke himself, and an important ecclesiastic center. The ongoing archaeological research in Lóbor continues and it is believed that it will solve some of the crucial research problems concerning life in Carolingian-age Lower Pannonia.

As has already been implied at the beginning of this paper, the results of archaeological research of modern-day northern Croatia are still unsatisfactory and insufficient. Many issues remain unresolved. Thus, the question of how it is possible that, in the area where one of the larger rebellions against Frankish overlordship (818–823) occurred, there are no well-investigated sites

or, at least, there is not a large number of sites that would substantiate the written evidence. If one was going off the present state of research, it would be possible to conclude that at the time of Liudevit's rebellion, the land was practically desolate. However, recent research indicated that the Avar-Frankish war had caused, to a degree, the province's demographic collapse, but also showed that life was soon reinstated, which can be best seen today in Lobar. The archaeological excavations in Lobar, which are still unique for northern Croatia, have shown that the Pannonian elites built richly decorated and equipped churches, whereas, at the same time, there are graves around the church without grave goods. These excavations have pointed to one of the main complexities of the research of the Carolingian era, where the wealth of individuals and communities can be seen from their buildings, but not their grave goods. Numerous recent excavations, as part of highway-building activities, have shown that, bit by bit, the archaeologically empty space is filled with artefacts from settlements, of which some have been explored, and others have been attested to by fragments of pottery vessels, the systematization of which has only recently begun.



FIGURE 9.1 Sisak – Late Avar decorative horse brass (phalera) in the shape of a boar's head.
From: Filipec 2003, Fig. 1
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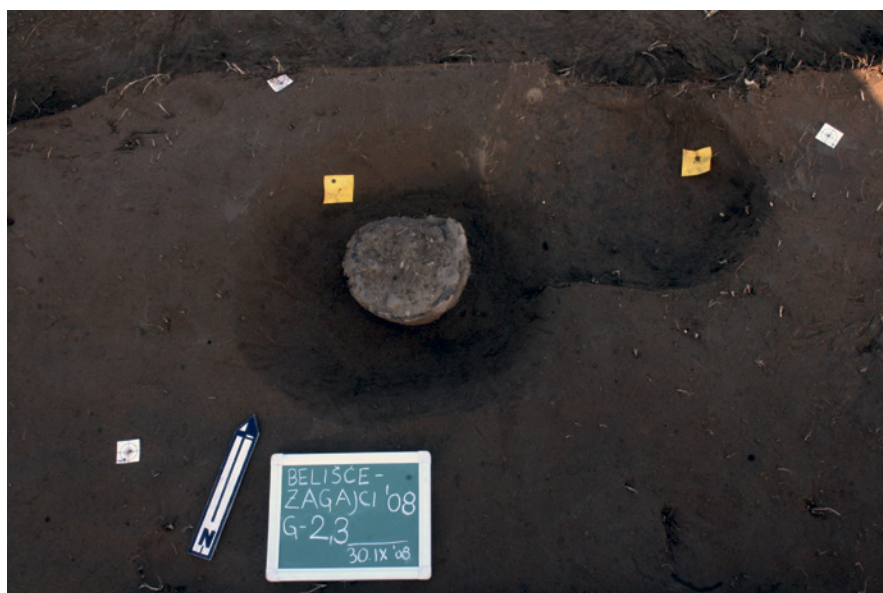


FIGURE 9.2 Belišće Zagajci: cremation burials, Grave 5
©PHOTOGRAPH BY AUTHOR

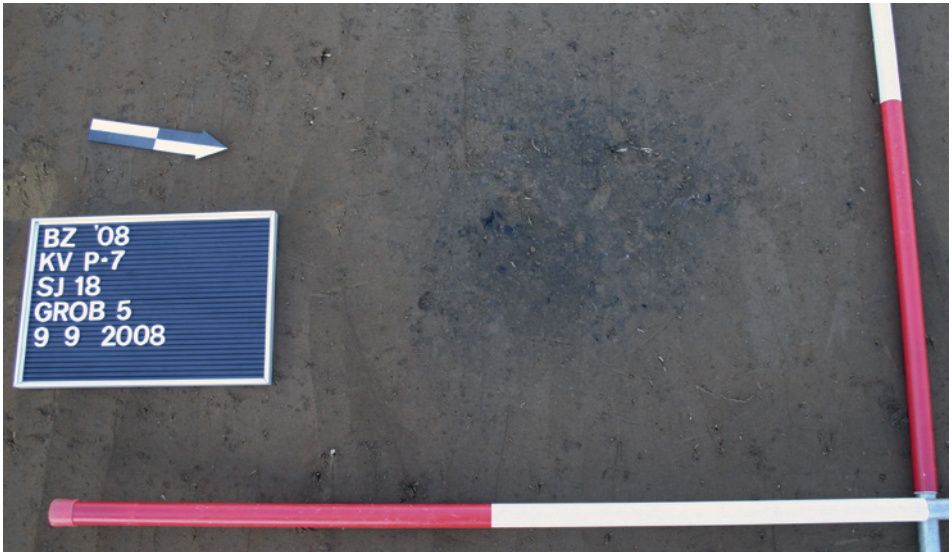


FIGURE 9.3 Belišće Zagajci: cremation burials, Grave 22

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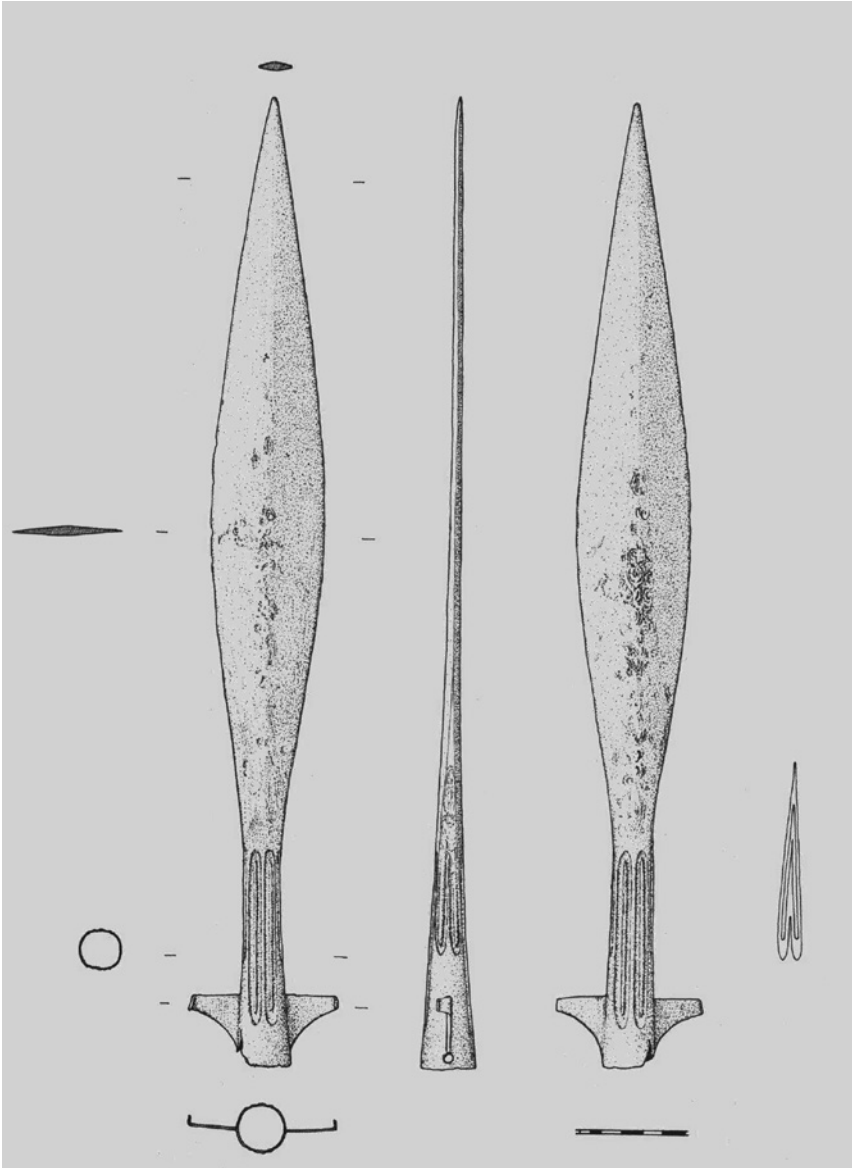


FIGURE 9.4 The winged spear from the vicinity of Dugo Selo. From: Demo 2010, Fig 1., with permission of the author



FIGURE 9.5 Stari Perkovci – Debela Šuma – an early medieval elongated-oval structure. From Filipec *et al.* 2009

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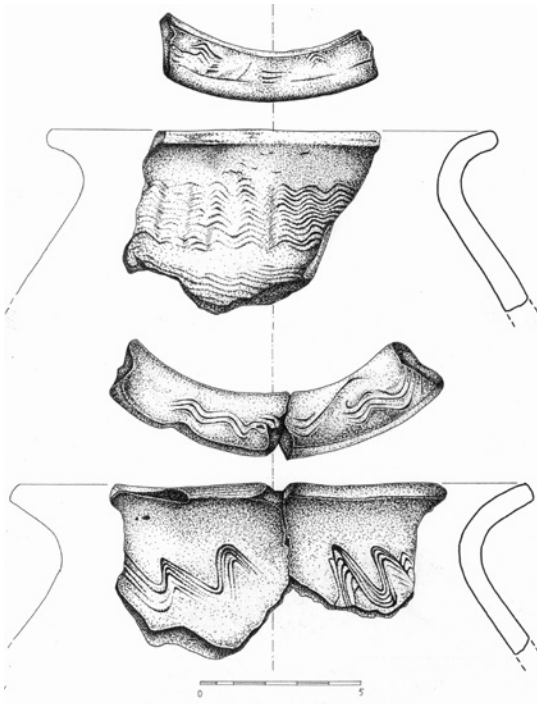


FIGURE 9.6
Stari Perkovci – Debela šuma:
Fragments sj 022

©IMAGE BY AUTHOR

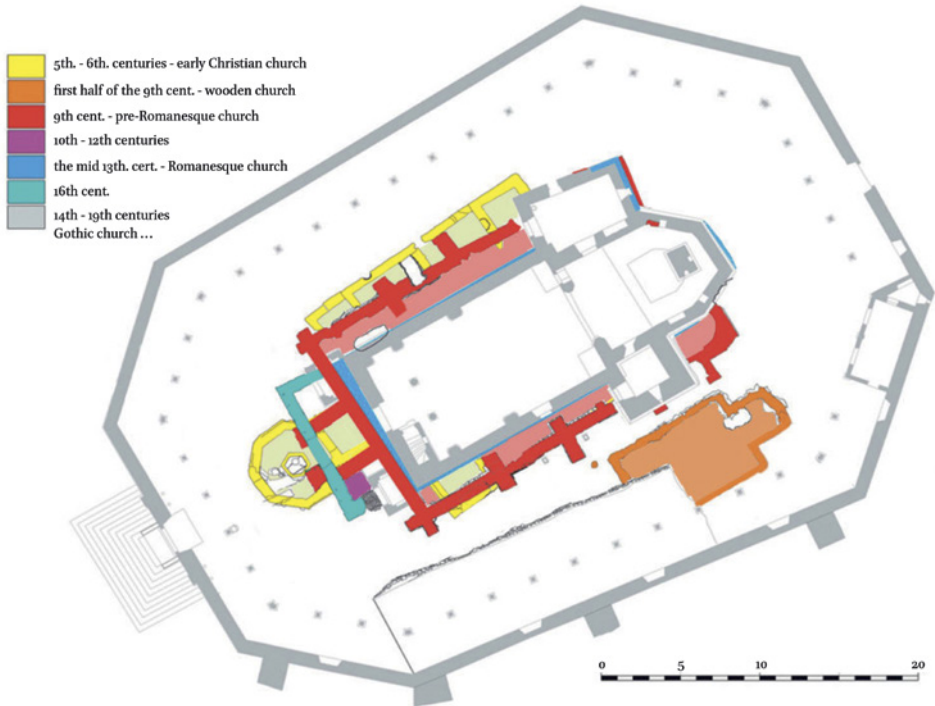


FIGURE 9.7 Lobor, ground plan
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FIGURE 9.8 Timber church in Lopor – North side

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Imperium and Regnum in Gottschalk's Description of Dalmatia

Ivan Basić

Over the last twenty years, scholarly literature, especially of the Anglo-Saxon sphere, as well as literature of German provenance, has radically changed the perception and knowledge of the Carolingian period. Many of the issues relevant for the Carolingian perception of *regnum* and *imperium* were meticulously analysed, with great success, a lot of this stemming from increased scholarly interest. A good example of this increased scholarly effort is the series *The Transformation of the Roman World* or *Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters*. Also very important are the works by Mayke de Jong, particularly her book *In Samuel's Image: Child Oblation in the Early Medieval West* – a large portion of it dedicated to Gottschalk. In 2010 Francis Gumerlock and Victor Genke published the translated corpus of Gottschalk's texts: *Gottschalk and a Medieval Predestination Controversy*. One should also mention the progress made on the issue of kingship and emperors by experts such as Walter Pohl, Hans-Werner Goetz or again De Jong.¹ This paper, however, will examine the question of *regnum* from a different perspective. Although the term we are about to analyse comes from a Frankish source, it does not seem to have anything to do with the Carolingian idea of *regnum* and *imperium*.

1 Introduction: What did Gottschalk Hear?

Gottschalk of Orbais, a Benedictine monk, theologian, grammarian and poet, is best known as a staunch supporter of the doctrine of two-fold predestination.² His theological ideas met with negative reception among the ranks of the Frankish ecclesiastical hierarchy, forcing Gottschalk to travel and

1 Goetz 1987; 2006; De Jong 2006: 121; 2015; Nelson 2007: 230–34 (historiographical overview of medievalists' perceptions and notions of Carolingian 'empire').

2 Katić 1932: 2–8; Lambot 1951; Hödl 1989; Ivanišević 1992: 34–35, 45–46; Rapanić 1993: 28–32; 2013; De Jong 1996: 77–91; Katičić 1999: 299–303; Švab 2002; Boller 2004; Kottje 2006; Genke 2010: 11–54; Pezé 2017; Gillis 2017; Chambert-Protat *et al.* 2018.

move around Carolingian Europe. In ca. 846–848 he resided at the court of Croat *dux* Trpimir, afterwards leaving for Bulgaria. Several Church synods convicted him of heresy, ultimately resulting in his confinement in the monastery of Hautvillers, where he died.³ Within the context of his theory of predestination, his works contain several valuable pieces of information about Dalmatia in the time of duke Trpimir, evidently picked up during his stay there. In *Responsa de diversis*, he attributed to this ruler the title of 'king of the Slavs' and described his military expedition against the 'people of the Greeks and their patrician'.⁴ In *De Praedestinatione*,⁵ he also mentioned some linguistic peculiarities, apparently characteristic of the eastern Adriatic. Although its preeminent theme is predestination, the treatise also discusses many issues of logic and grammar, e.g. syllogisms and transferred meanings of words. Interpreting a sentence of the prophet Isaiah, Gottschalk highlights the frequent use of a general notion to denote a person who performs a function associated with that general notion, e.g. the word *venatio* (hunt) is used to convey the meaning of *venatores* (hunters). In this way the words *divinitas* and *deitas* could in fact mean *deus*. Gottschalk corroborates this by the following examples:

In that way then 'deity' and 'divinity' are used instead of 'God'. Likewise, Dalmatian people, that is, likewise Latin people, but subject to the empire of the Greeks, call the king and emperor by an expression common throughout the whole of Dalmatia, which is a most spacious region, I mean, they call the king and emperor kingdom and empire. For they say: 'We were at the kingdom', and: 'We stood before the empire', and: 'The kingdom has told us so', and: 'The empire spoke in that way'.⁶

3 Scholarship on Gottschalk: O'Donnell 2003; Genke 2010, esp. 7–11; relevant Croatian literature is summarised in Rapanić 2013: 27–28, 30–31.

4 "Likewise, also horses are cheerful in the battle array on that side which, when God gives it, must be victorious. This I myself have certainly proved by experience through Gottschalk, my little son, with respect to our horse. For when Trpimir, king of the Slavs, was going against the people of the Greeks and their governor, and our villa was in the very neighborhood of the future war, I told him to go and take care of everything that would be necessary for the king and his army, which he, by all means, had to do. However, I have terribly adjured him by the Lord God that he should neither take up arms nor go with the army, but, following their astride with full attention, consider which attitude this our horse would have or take. Indeed, I most certainly knew for a long time that victory would come and be on the side of the people, whose horses would tread cheerfully and show their cheerfulness with their triumphant attitude", Genke 2010: 33, Latin text in Lambot 1945: 169.

5 Ms. Bern. 584, fol. 70v–71r; Lambot 1945: 208. According to Genke & Gumerlock (2010: 107) *On Predestination* is a collection of testimonies gathered under one title, of heterogeneous origin and difficult to date, but most probably written in Hautvillers after 849.

6 Lambot 1945: 208; translated by Genke in Genke & Gumerlock 2010: 124.

Interpreted out of context, this passage was thought to witness the existence of two different entities in 9th-century Dalmatia: *Dalmatini* (Trpimir's subjects in continental Dalmatia) and *Latini* (Byzantine subjects in coastal cities and islands).⁷ After 1932, when Lovre Katić introduced Gottschalk's text into the historiography,⁸ Croatian historians tended to interpret it as shown in Table 10.1:

TABLE 10.1 Historiography on Gottschalk's account of Dalmatia, 1932–2012

	Dalmatini	Latini
Identity, ethnicity	People of Croatian Duchy, Croats	People of Byzantine Dalmatia, <i>Romani</i>
Ruler	Croatian duke	Byzantine emperor
Language	Latin	Latin
Expressions used	– <i>We were at the kingdom</i> – <i>The kingdom has told us so</i>	– <i>We stood before the empire</i> – <i>The empire spoke in that way</i>

However, the recent analysis of Željko Rapanić gave new insight into the way in which we might look at these two entities. The dominant interpretation of this passage was heavily influenced by the fact that Gottschalk mentioned Croatian ruler Trpimir as 'king of the Slavs'. Although this comes from a completely different passage, indeed, from a completely different treatise, most historians explicitly or implicitly associated the two, trying to explain

7 Expressed most succinctly by Katičić 1999: 300–01, see also: Katić 1932: 19, 25–26; Margetić 1983: 266; 2004: 9; Beuc 1985: 41; Rapanić 1992: 100; Katičić 1993: 46; Grmek 1994: 442–43; Budak 2008: 234; Živković & Radovanović 2009: 34, 37–38, Džino 2010: 194. This in turn led some historians to conclude that Trpimir appropriated Byzantine courtly customs, identifying himself with *regnum*: Klaić 1971: 231; 1990: 60, Goldstein 1983: 145–46; 1992: 167. Consequently, Ančić 2005: 220, n.21 endeavored to find traces of this in current usage in the Old Church Slavonic text *S. Venceslai Vita Palaeoslovenica recentior, redactionis Nikol'skianae*. The full reference is as follows: ВРАТИСЛАВЪ, НА КЪНАЖЕНИЕ СТОЛА, ИЗЪВРАНЪ ВСЪМИ ЛЮДЬМИ, ПРИСТЪПИ (Katičić 1996: 9). However, the conclusions of this inquiry are circumscribed by the initial assumptions: a confident decision on this question is probably not justified, since there are no extant early medieval sources from Croatia containing such a manner of addressing the ruler. Koščak 1980/81: 306 attempted to trace the origin of this phrasing in the West, where the state was perceived as the personal patrimony of the ruler (although Koščak too assumes that Gottschalk's *Dalmatia* is in fact Croatia). Suić 1984: 22, n.27 assumes that both Croats (*Dalmatini*) as well as the Romani (*Latini*) designate the duke Trpimir's territory *regnum et imperium*. There is no ground whatsoever for such a conclusion.

8 Morin 1931; Katić 1932.

Gottschalk's description of Dalmatia as the kingdom/*regnum* of Trpimir. It was, however, necessary to examine things in context and if one takes into account the previous few lines of the text the whole hypothesis about the two entities then appears untenable:

All the Venetians, that is, Latin people living in the cities on this side of the sea, never call their lord, that is, the emperor of the Greeks, lord, but lordship. For they say: 'Your benign lordship, have mercy on us', and: 'We have been before his lordship', and: 'His lordship has told us so'.⁹

Gottschalk's description of Dalmatia directly follows the description of Venice and is associated with it in a very natural way. They are separated by only three short sentences, unambiguously connecting the two descriptions by a few explanatory notes. Another reason for this error is that the pages of the respective folios break exactly at that point, and the previous folio was for a long time not accessible to historians.¹⁰ This is self-evident if one takes a look at the whole text (see also Table 10.5):

§ 6. Be ashamed, Sidon, the sea has said. For, as 'Sidon' means 'hunting' and 'hunting' is used in this passage for 'hunters'. Similarly 'divinity' and 'deity' are often used and said instead of 'God'. In order that you may see this clearly, pay careful attention to what I want to say. *All the Venetians, that is, Latin people living in the cities on this side of the sea, never call their lord, that is, the emperor of the Greeks, lord, but lordship. For they say: 'Your benign lordship, have mercy on us', and: 'We have been before his lordship', and: 'His lordship has told us so'.* But lest their manner of speaking should seem poor to you as rustic, see what is in heaven. For those blessed spirits who are located in sixth ranks among the others are called lordships instead of lords. [fol. 71r] In that way then 'deity' and 'divinity' are used

9 Lambot 1945: 208; translated by Genke in Genke & Gumerlock 2010: 124.

10 In 1931, after the discovery of the manuscript, only four pages were photographed and sent to Croatia: fol. 51r–v and 71r–v. These were the pages used by Katić, and herein lies the problem: they were taken out of context. Folio 51 contains the anecdote on the war with Greeks, whereas folio 71 (i.e. 40 pages below) contains the narrative on *regnum* and *imperium*. Both narratives belong to different treatises. The latter is part of § 6 in chap. 9 of *De Praedestinatione*. § 6 is a self-sufficient, closed textual unit, with a clearly marked beginning and end (both are quotes from Isaiah). Hence the narratives on Venice and Dalmatia belong to the same segment of the text. In terms of material space, § 6 covers three folios (70v, 71r, 71v); Katić had access only to the second and the third folio, thus passing over the first one (where Venice is mentioned); Ivanišević 1992: 34–35, 45–46; Grmek 1994: 436, 442–43; Rapanić 2013: 40–42.

instead of 'God'. *Likewise, Dalmatian people, that is, likewise Latin people, but subject to the empire of the Greeks, call the king and emperor by an expression common throughout the whole of Dalmatia, which is a most spacious region, I mean, they call the king and emperor kingdom and empire. For they say: 'We were at the kingdom,' and: 'We stood before the empire,' and: 'The kingdom has told us so,' and: 'The empire spoke in that way.'* But do not think that they say this with no authority, since the Holy Church in whole world truthfully and favorably as well as quite authoritatively sings joyfully about the Son of God: 'I have seen a man sit on a high throne, whom the multitude of the angels adore and sing in one voice: 'Behold him whose name for eternity is empire,' that is: This is the one whose name is for eternity emperor.

The *homines Latini* are not in any way contrasted with the *Dalmatini*: they are one and the same, and the phrase *perinde id est similiter homines Latini* means that they (*Dalmatini*) are also *Latini*, as are the Venetians. Rapanić has succeeded in emancipating himself from Katić's deeply rooted theory of two entities, where many – himself included – had followed with excessive trust.¹¹ Rapanić's conclusion is, namely, that Gottschalk identified *homines Dalmatini* with *homines Latini* – the Latin-speaking inhabitants of litoral Dalmatia – subject to Byzantine sovereignty (Table 10.2).

TABLE 10.2 Željko Rapanić's interpretation of Gottschalk's account of Dalmatia

Dalmatini = Latini	
Identity, ethnicity	People of Byzantine Dalmatia, <i>Romani</i>
Ruler	Byzantine emperor
Language	Latin
Expressions used	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – <i>We were at the kingdom</i> – <i>The kingdom has told us so</i> – <i>We stood before the empire</i> – <i>The empire spoke in that way</i>

11 Rapanić 2013: 61. *Contra* (Gottschalk's *Dalmatia* is Croatia): Katić 1932: 25–26; Koščak 1984: 218–19; Ančić 1997: 11.

Some of the more recent translations of Gottschalk's text make this abundantly clear.¹² In other words, in this passage the author mentions neither the Slavs, nor their ruler. The theory of two entities is a misconception. Gottschalk simply states that the people of Byzantine Dalmatia refer to their sovereign using the abstract nouns 'kingdom' and 'empire', and compares this to the similar case in Venice.¹³ Their political allegiance is Byzantine, but their identity and language is Latin.

This manner of speech is by no means specific to Dalmatia, since the same is attested by Gottschalk for the inhabitants of Venice (also *homines Latini*, who call their sovereign, the Byzantine emperor, *dominatio*). The same phraseology is attested even earlier, in the *Placitum* of Rižana (*Placitum Rizianense*) of 804,¹⁴ when it was used by Istrians protesting against the Frankish duke John, and describing the previous Byzantine rule over the peninsula (until ca. 788):

Since a long time ago, while we were subject to the Empire of the Greeks, our forefathers were accustomed to hold the honor of tribunate (...) And who wished to have a higher honor than the tribunate, went to the Empire, who appointed him consul.¹⁵

For the envoys of the Empire or for any other tax or tribute one half gave the Church, one half the people.

When the envoys of the Empire came, they stayed in the bishop's palace; and up until the time they had to return to their lordship, they resided there.¹⁶

12 Genke 2010: 124–25 (English); Borri 2008a: 156 n. 59 (English); 2010b: 23 (Italian); Schneider 1990: 245 (German). Only after this volume was ready for print, I become acquainted with the recently published book by Gillis, which contains very much the same translation; Gillis 2017: 101.

13 Another Frankish theologian, Amalarius of Metz, while passing through Zadar in June 813, described the inhabitants of Byzantine Dalmatia as *eos qui ad imperium Grecorum pertinent*, thus clearly affirming the difference between their political allegiance and Latin identity, much in the same way as Gottschalk, Vedriš 2005: 9–13; 2018; McCormick 2001: 138–43, 900, no. 316, 330, 902. Amalarius' text contains substantial echoes of the intermediary role of Dalmatia between the Franks, the Holy See and the Byzantines, especially in terms of liturgy and ecclesiastical structure – see Basić 2017/18. For more on the position of Dalmatia from the point of view of the imperial periphery: Dzino 2018.

14 First noticed by Borri 2008a: 15; 2010b: 23 and Rapanić 2013: 63.

15 *Placito*, 62.14–18. The most recent edition of the *Placitum* is Krahwinkler 2004: 61–92 (Latin text with Slovene and German translations). Cf. the English translation in Borri 2008a: 14, n.53: "In the Old Times, when we were under the lordship of the Greeks, our ancestors used to bear the dignities of tribune (...) And who wanted a better dignity than tribune traveled to the Empire, who ordained him consul."

16 *Placito*, 58.10, 58.12–60.13.

Once more, it is the empire that appoints the consuls, not the emperor in person (*ambulabat ad imperium, qui ordinabat illum ypato*). Moreover, the Byzantine envoys are not called the representatives of the emperor, but twice referred to as ‘envoys of the Empire’ (*missi imperii*). Finally, their return to Constantinople is curiously described: they return to ‘their lordship’ (*ad suam dominationem*).¹⁷ The imperial sovereign of the Greeks is characterised here as *imperium, dominatio* instead of the anticipated *imperator, dominus*. McCormick was the first who, albeit in passing, hypothesised that these were not mere lexical features used in everyday vulgar Latin. He assumed that the phrases in question reflect the influence of diplomatic documents, issued by the Byzantine imperial chancery. Formulas used in these documents by which the emperor designated himself were written in plural form and using abstract nouns ἡ βασιλεία ἡμῶν (‘our majesty/empire/kingdom/sovereignty/reign/rule’). These exactly correspond to Latin titles *imperium* or *regnum*, that is to say, to abstract nouns attested by Gottschalk.¹⁸ Additionally, the word *dominatio* that the Venetians used – according to Gottschalk – to designate their ruler, is in my opinion the exact translation of the Greek phrase τὸ κράτος ἡμῶν, used by the Byzantine emperor to designate himself as ‘Our Imperial Lordship/Imperial Power’.¹⁹ It is against this background that the wording *imperium et regnum* of Gottschalk must be studied.

At this point, it is necessary to state the nature of my own inquiry.²⁰ I will try to tackle certain questions that seem interesting from a different point of view: namely, what generated the discourse I have been discussing thus far. My aim is to see what kind of ‘local knowledge’ (in Geertz’s sense)²¹ lies behind these lexical peculiarities. Predictably, I welcome an approach which coincides with my own, such as the one by McCormick or Borri, but it might have

17 First noticed by Gračanin 2015: 503.

18 McCormick 1998: 23. Although he later noted the analogous use of *imperium* in the *Placitum* of Rižana (49, n.78), McCormick surprisingly fails to discuss its implications.

19 Blaise 1975: 322 lists five basic meanings: feudal lord’s authority over his vassal; bishop’s authority; authority, property; domain, lordship; ‘your lordship’ (as a title for kings and magnates); tribute paid to the lord. Cf. also Niermeyer 1976: 349.

20 First expounded in Basić 2015: 444–45. Although already Manojlović 1910/11: 139, 156, 158–59, and 162 correctly translated this as ‘our imperial majesty’, Croatian historiography does not seem to have noticed the correlation between Gottschalk’s *imperium* and Porphyrogenitus’ βασιλεία. Margetić 2000a: 5; 2004: 9 noticed in passing that Trpimir’s title *regnum* fits the Greek ἡ βασιλεία μου, but did not explore this further (nor did he observe that the same goes for *imperium*).

21 “... discourse that proceeds under a set of rules, assumptions, conventions, criteria, beliefs, which, in principle anyway, tell us how to go about settling issues and resolving disagreements on every point where statements seem to conflict”, Geertz 1983: 222.

been advisable to broaden the scope of research in more detail. None of the previous scholarship endeavoured to explain the Venetian *dominatio* (obviously not derived from βασιλεία). Finally, there is another, third source on the issue of *regnum* and *imperium* that has previously gone unnoticed (see below). The issue of the origin of 'majestic discourse' can be broken down into several subsidiary questions.

2 The Empire Speaks

In order to understand precisely what is meant by these words, we have to review the exact translation of both βασιλεία and κράτος. The term ἡ βασιλεία can mean: reign, sovereignty; kingship, emperorship, majesty, office of the king/emperor; domain, dominion, kingdom, empire, territory under a king/emperor, imperial office, royal office, imperial rulership, emperorship; majesty as a title (e.g. *Notre Majesté*, моя царственность). Τὸ κράτος – an even higher level of abstraction – may be interpreted as strength, might, power; political power, rule, sovereign power, sovereignty; authority, mastery; majesty.²² Both can be used in the singular (ἡ βασιλεία μου, τὸ κράτος μου) as well as plural (ἡ βασιλεία ἡμῶν, ἡ ἡμετέρα βασιλεία, τὸ κράτος ἡμῶν, τὸ ἡμέτερον κράτος, τὸ ἡμέτερον βασίλειον κράτος).

Terms used in Byzantine sources to designate the (Eastern) Roman Empire, the nature of the Byzantine state and its political regime are numerous. As of the late 6th century the formerly ubiquitous term Ῥωμαίων πολιτεία in Byzantine narrative sources was substituted gradually for Ῥωμαίων βασιλεία. Already by the time of Euagrius Scholasticus (ca. 536–594) and especially Theophanes (ca. 760–818) Ῥωμαίων βασιλεία had come to denote not only the reign of a given sovereign, but the entire Byzantine political system.²³ Βασιλεία seems to have entered common usage as a ruler's title already in Biblical texts but gained further prominence in the Byzantine period, when it came to denote the Byzantine emperor in particular.²⁴ The myriad of notional

22 Sophocles 1900: 689 – majesty, as a title; Liddell *et al.* 1940: 992 – strength, might; power, especially political power, rule, sovereignty, sovereign power; power over somebody or something; possession of the land; power of persons, a power, an authority.

23 Lounghis 1997: 17–19. Sometimes even implied as legal statute – Karamboula 1996: 4. Cf. also Karamboula 1993; Chrysos 1978: 67–69 (βασιλεία in John Lydus).

24 Noted by Du Cange 1688: 179–80.

meanings inherited from the Graeco-Roman period were all reduced to make way for another, singular meaning denoting the office of Eastern emperor.²⁵

The phrases βασιλεία ἡμῶν and κράτος ἡμῶν, as well as similar ones, were well studied some time ago by Dölger and Karayannopoulos, and in recent times most thoroughly by Gastgeber. This is, in Gastgeber's words: "the way the emperor speaks about his person, i.e. if he uses a verbal form in the first person plural – and a respective pronoun (*pluralis maiestatis*) – or impersonally with an abstract term like 'our majesty', in which case the Byzantine emperor tries to maintain the atmosphere of divinity and distance by using an abstract noun, especially when the addressee is privileged by a special grant or privilege; (generally speaking, an emperor represents the divine power as chosen by God, thus being in distance to common mortals. This distance is cultivated in numerous ceremonies and in the use of a language of distance, too)".²⁶ It is certainly unnecessary to present here a full survey of research done on Byzantine emperors' transpersonal terminology. The evidence is plentiful, and a selection of documents issued by several Byzantine emperors belonging to the Macedonian dynasty, containing the phrases we are dealing with will suffice here, beginning with the founder of the dynasty, Basil I (867–886) (Table 10.3).

Furthermore, Gastgeber meticulously analysed the charters issued until 992, amply demonstrating that the emperors used these phrases on a permanent basis: Leo VI (886–912: ἡ βασιλεία ἡμῶν, ἡ ἐκ Θεοῦ βασιλεία ἡμῶν, ἡ ἡμετέρα βασιλεία, ἡ θεοπρόβλητος ἡμῶν βασιλεία, τὸ ἡμέτερον κράτος, ἡ βασιλεία μου), Romanus I (920–944: ἡ βασιλεία ἡμῶν, ἡ ἐκ Θεοῦ βασιλεία ἡμῶν, ἡ ἡμετέρα βασιλεία, ἡ ἡμετέρα ἐπισκεψαμένη και ἀποδεξαμένη βασιλεία, τὸ ἡμέτερον κράτος, τὸ γαληνὸν και εἰρηνικὸν τῆς βασιλείας ἡμῶν κράτος), Constantine VII (944–959: ἡ ἐκ Θεοῦ βασιλεία ἡμῶν, ἡ βασιλεία ἡμῶν), Romanus II (959–963: ἡ βασιλεία ἡμῶν), and so on.²⁷ 'Majestic discourse' was a standardised form of imperial self-representation. The results of Gastgeber's work demonstrate that in the 9th century the phrase βασιλεία was ubiquitous in Byzantine imperial

25 Dölger 1938/39: 233–35, 241; Dölger & Karayannopoulos 1968: 34 and n.8, 47; Müller 2008: 132–33.

26 Gastgeber 2014: 80, 83. See Dölger 1938–39: 241; Berlinger 1935; Hunger 1964; Browning 1966. It seems that this majestic plural stems from the fact that all the formal pronouncements were made in the names of all members of the imperial college, a standard practice since the First Tetrarchy, which continued throughout Late Antiquity even in sole reigns, without reverting to the singular. The majestic plural became standard because of an almost continuous existence of co-rulers during the 4th and 5th centuries, Corcoran 2000: 318–23; 2015: 211–12, 214.

27 Gastgeber 2003: 118–27.

TABLE 10.3 Selection of documents containing tranpersonal phrases, issued by the Byzantine emperors from the Macedonian dynasty

Phrase used	Source and date	Ref.
– <i>amabile Christo imperium nostrum</i>	Letter to pope Nicholas I	Reg. 474
– <i>divinitus munitum imperium nostrum</i>	(11 December 867)	
– <i>imperium nostrum</i>	Edict to 8th ecumenical council	Reg. 484
– <i>tranquillitas nostra</i>	(28 February 870)	
– <i>divinitus muniendum imperium nostrum</i>	Edict to all the patriarchs	Reg. 485
– <i>imperium nostrum</i>	(28 February–31 August 870)	
– <i>imperium nostrum</i>	Letter to pope Hadrian II	Reg. 488
	(mid-871)	
– ἡ θεοσυνέργητος ἡμῶν βασιλεία	<i>Sigillion</i> for the monks of Athos	Reg. 492
	(June 883)	

documents issued to the West, and that its Latin equivalent was *imperium*, all in accordance with Gottschalk's narrative.

Imperial acts fall into five basic categories: legislative acts, intended for the interior of the Empire, imperial resolutions and rescripts on concrete matters, acts intended for the exterior, administrative acts, and privileges.²⁸ Of these, the majority obligatorily contained some version of the phrase ἡ βασιλεία or τὸ κράτος, designating the emperor. For instance, chrysobulls applied ἡ βασιλεία μου at least twice in the text, and typically ended with the formula which announced the emperor's signature: ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον εὐσεβὲς καὶ θεοπρόβλητον ὑπεσημῆνατο κράτος – "and upon it Our Respectful and Blessed Power has placed its signature".²⁹ This so-called *kratos*-formula is an important feature for assessing the authenticity of Byzantine charters. Πρόσταγμα/ὀρισμός contained in its disposition the usual formula διὸ (ὅθεν) διορίζεται ἡ βασιλεία μου – "therefore My Emperorship appoints". At the end of a σιγίλλιον a final clause was appended: ἐπὶ τούτῳ γὰρ καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον τῆς βασιλείας μου σιγίλλιον ἐπεδόθη αὐτῷ/αὐτοῖς – "And to this end such sigillion of My Emperorship was handed unto him/them". The phrases that interest us here also appear in codicils: ἡ ἐκ θεοῦ βασιλεία ἡμῶν – "our Emperorship from God", as well as

28 Dölger & Karayannopoulos 1968: 24–25, 89–94, 99–107, 109–12, 117–28; Oikonomidès 1985: 174–89, 190–93.

29 Dölger & Karayannopoulos 1968: 122–23; Treitinger 1938: 60, 228ff.; Dölger 1962: 99; 1963; Müller 2008: 132–33.

kratos-formulae, otherwise unusual in administrative acts.³⁰ This last instance is of additional importance, because codicils were bestowed upon imperial officials and holders of honorary posts (ἀξίαι διὰ βραβείου) as a certificate of titles given by the emperor. These office-holders were very often persons of Western origin and local scope and functions, whether or not they received their nominations in person or via documents sent from Constantinople.

The formal greeting of the emperor to the addressee at the end of the document also contained the aforementioned phrase: since at least 681 until at least 871 the official farewell of the emperor was: *Bene valete sacratissimi auxiliatores pietatis orantes pro nostro imperio* (=ἔρρωσθε πανίεροι τῆς εὐσεβείας ὑπεριστάμενοι, καὶ τοῦ ἡμετέρου κράτους ὑπερευχόμενοι, where κράτος is translated as *imperium*).³¹

The transpersonalization of the emperor in the word *imperium* was not restricted to diplomatics only. For example, the phrases ἡ βασιλεία ἡμῶν and ἡ ἡμετέρα βασιλεία (“Our Imperial Majesty” and “Our Emperorship”) have been used 13 times in the *DAI*.³² Several of these contain direct references to imperial chrysobulls, and all of them reflect the imperial self-designation in the official acts. The phrases τὸ κράτος and τὸ κράτος ἡμῶν (‘imperial power’) appear regularly (18 times) in the famous handbook on court ritual *De Cerimoniis* (*BOC*) (see Table 10.6), wherein they designate the emperor and his majesty. But in the same book ἡ βασιλεία and ἡ βασιλεία ἡμῶν are absolutely dominant (used as many as 85 times, see Table 10.7). These clearly designated either the emperor personally or his rule in an abstract way. Foreign ambassadors, when greeting the emperor via letter or in person, utilised formulas like these: “The highly esteemed so-and-so, prince of Old Rome, with the archons and all the people subject to him, send your imperial power (τὴν βασιλείαν σου) their most loyal homage (...) We find in your sublime and great imperial power (τὴν σὴν ὑψηλὴν καὶ μεγάλην βασιλείαν) noble protection and shelter and support. May your rule and imperial power (ἡ σὴ δεσποτεία καὶ βασιλεία) be vouchsafed us for

30 Dölger & Karayannopoulos 1968: 110–15.

31 E.g. Reg. 248 = *Sacrorum Conciliorum* 11: 723–24 (Constantine IV in 681). Brandi 1908: 40; Dölger & Karayannopoulos 1968: 93.

32 Cf. ἡ βασιλεία ἡμῶν: 45.68, 75, 109, 124, 132, 138, 142, 151–52, 161, 167, 172; ἡ ἡμετέρα βασιλεία: 45.102, 107, cf. Bury 1906: 543 and n.3. Of these 13 instances only 3 have been commented upon by the editors of the *Dumbarton Oaks* edition (S. Runciman in Dvornik *et al.* 1962: 175–76): 45.68, 124, 102 – who realised the link between the wording and imperial acts, some of them preserved (e.g. Reg. 649), pointing to chrysobulls issued by Leo VI as well as to authoritative works of reference like Dölger 1933: 445; 1956: 39–43; 1953: 16, 21–22, and Treitinger 1938: 212–13. However, all of the instances actually belong to the formulaic language used by the imperial court and chancery.

many years for we are your people and most loyal servants of your sovereign power." This also evidences that foreign courts and chanceries had at their disposal sets of fixed expressions ready to use when addressing the emperor in Constantinople.

When the emperor made appointments to a high office, he spoke of himself this way: "In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, my imperial power from God (*ἡ ἐκ Θεοῦ βασιλεία μου*) appoints you domestikos of the divinely-guarded scholai". The same formula – entailing *βασιλεία* instead of "I, the emperor" – was used at the appointment of several other officials (rector, *synkellos*), as well as at the ordination of the patriarch of Constantinople: "The grace of God and our imperial power derived from it (*ἡ ἐξ αὐτῆς βασιλεία ἡμῶν*) appoint this most pious man patriarch of Constantinople." All the aforementioned examples of 'majestic discourse' uttered before the candidates for office-holders made them acquainted first-hand with the official discourse of the Byzantine court, witnessed in the aura of awe-inspiring imperial power and the presence of the emperor himself. No wonder then that such discourse quickly and easily found its way into peripheral Byzantine provinces in the West, where many of the office-seekers actually came from.

Both *ἡ βασιλεία (ἡμῶν)* and *τὸ κράτος (ἡμῶν)* appear in the *BOC* in a solemn ritual context of liturgical and pseudo-liturgical acclamations and ruler-worship accorded to the Byzantine emperor. This was done both on religious occasions as well as on secular ones. One, of course, expects a handbook on the ceremonies of Byzantine court to abound in ritual courtly discourse, but notwithstanding this, it is quite amazing that the phrases discussed here were applied so many times (103 in total), and that they permeated all the spheres which concerned the emperor's person. The fact that this particular, peculiar wording was closely associated with the emperor – and constantly ritually repeated in regular cycles all through the year – made its penetration into public written and spoken communication, as a personification of the ruler, easier. Furthermore, it seems that some of these majestic expressions concerning *βασιλεία* as a synonym for the emperor's person are very old, because at least once a 5th-century text is explicitly mentioned as a source of such wording: "For your prayer for my holy and fortunate imperial power (*τῆς ἁγίας καὶ εὐτυχοῦς βασιλείας μου*) I will give you five nomismata each and a pound of silver to each soldier". This involves the proclamation of emperor Leo I in 457, citing Peter the Patrician (ca. 500–565) as the source. A few other very old formulas preserved in the *BOC* are especially interesting: these are the Latin acclamations of the emperor by the *kankellarioi* of the Quaestor, as well as in the Hall of the Nineteen Couches, transcribed into Greek:

Response: '*Cristus Deus noster cum servet imperium vestrum per multos annos et bonos!*' It is translated: 'May Christ our God guard your reign for many good years!'

When the emperor is reclining at the table and all the customary ceremonial is being performed, and when at a sign from the *praipositos* the guests who have been invited are about to sit, the five chanters recite: '*Conservet Deus imperium vestrum!*', which is, translated: 'May God guard your reign!'

The importance of these chants is threefold: firstly, they were sung in Latin, and represent some of the latest survivals of that language in medieval Byzantium, albeit deformed and incomprehensible to contemporaries – hence the need for a Greek interpretation. Secondly, they also employ the term *imperium vestrum* (ἡμπέριουμ βέστρουμ) when referring to the emperor, and explicitly translate it as βασιλεία ὑμῶν. Thirdly, they point to the conclusion that the matching expression *imperium nostrum* (= βασιλεία ἡμῶν) dates back to early Byzantine period, when Latin was still a spoken language of the Empire and the court. As shown long ago by Charanis, and relatively recently by Oikonomidès, the Eastern Empire ceased to be functionally bilingual in the 7th century at the latest, notwithstanding some survivals of Latin-speaking subjects of the emperor (e.g. Thessalonica). These survivals of Latin gradually died out by the end of the 7th and early 8th century, so the only ones among Byzantine subjects still using it were those situated along the coasts of Adriatic: Venice, Istria and Dalmatia.³³

In the late antique and early Byzantine era, documents issued for the West were sent exclusively in Latin. Following the Hellenization of the Empire in the 6th and 7th century, all official correspondence was issued in Greek. According to a very old tradition, all the Byzantine imperial documents intended for the exterior were written in the simplest Greek.³⁴ It looks as if this did not help those in the West to better understand Greek, since the language barrier produced texts that were either corrupt or extremely difficult to understand as early as the 7th century.³⁵ Diplomatic relations were no exception: although

33 Charanis 1959: 43; Oikonomidès 1999: 49–51; McCormick 1994: 23; Bianconi 2004: 548–49.

34 Oikonomidès 1985: 176–77.

35 Even in the capital of the Exarchate, Ravenna, the dominant mode of communication was Latin (albeit with a lot of Hellenisms). As early as the 7th century bilingual speakers were hard to find. Cf. Agnellus' anecdote on the notary of the Exarch Theodore (ca. 678–687), whose ability to translate imperial letters from Greek into Latin was considered rare and extraordinary – Guillou 1969: 112–13; T.S. Brown 1984: 154. On the poor knowledge

Greek governors of western provinces and their retinue for a long time came from Constantinople, a gradual loss of communication is evident when one considers for example the poor quality of translations of official Greek letters of appointment handed to *katepanos*.³⁶ The first known letter intended for Western consumption and written exclusively in Greek was sent in 765 by Constantine v. It contains a reference to translating the text at the recipient's court, as well as the emperor's complaint of poor interpretation of his sentences.³⁷ Documents written solely in Greek continued to be issued from Constantinople until the late 9th/early 10th century, when the first official translations began to be made.³⁸ Before that, in order to correctly understand the document, a Western addressee had to arrange for a translation of the Greek text into Latin. Seeing this problem, from the late 9th century the imperial chancery began to issue an official Latin translation (*charta transversa*), appending it to the original document. The Greek version was always thought of by the imperial bureaucracy as the official, primary document, whereas its Latin translation was deemed of secondary importance.³⁹ This is easily discernible by comparison of Greek and Latin versions of a given letter: a large number of errors or contradictions in the Latin version unmistakably points to the Constantinopolitan origin of both.⁴⁰ The creation of bilingual documents caused some additional problems, because the Latin translation made in Constantinople often did not exactly match the meaning of the Greek text. Furthermore, the quality of Latin was more often than not inferior to the one spoken in the West, and thus often completely incomprehensible.⁴¹ This issue was resolved only in the 12th century, when the knowledge of Latin among the official court interpreters had conspicuously improved.

These exalted forms of address for the monarch in official documents or the most formal situations reached, it seems, also the Frankish court, as well as the papal curia. In 584 the Frankish queen Brunhilda wrote to the

of Greek cf. Falkenhausen 1989: 429; Bianconi 2004: 548–49; Dagron 1969: 24ff.; Đurić 1986: 110, 129; Chiesa 2004: 499–501; Drocourt 2012: 250–51.

36 *Syllabus*, no. 12, 23–25. On Greek origin of governors: Guillou 1969: 116; T.S. Brown 1984: 51, 64, 136, 169, Falkenhausen 1989: 414.

37 *Codex Carolinus* 36, 546.11–16; McCormick 2005: 137; Gastgeber 2010: 92.

38 A letter of Basil I to Louis II (871) mentions translating the letter into Latin at court in Constantinople; this is the first mention of such a practice, cf. Gastgeber 2005: 121; Dölger & Karayannopoulos 1968: 90.

39 Gastgeber 2005: 121; 2010: 91–92. On the structure of imperial chancery see Dölger 1961: 83–85; Dölger & Karayannopoulos 1968: 57–67; Oikonomidès 1985: 168–73.

40 Gastgeber 2010: 91.

41 Penna 2012: 13; Gastgeber 2005; 2010.

Byzantine dowager empress Anastasia: *Serenissime dominationi vestrae, quam, tribuente Domino, summo principe coniuge Romanam cognovimus rempublicam gubernare.*⁴² In 603 Gregory the Great wrote to emperor Phocas: *Comprimantur iugo vestrae dominationis superbae mentes hostium.*⁴³ Gillett recently drew attention to the fact that in the two letters sent by the Exarch of Ravenna in 589/590 to the Frankish king Childebert II the noun *regnum* denotes the Kingdom of the Franks, but also the king himself, as a title.⁴⁴ Whether these letters indicate a possible earlier date for the origins of ‘majestic discourse’ remains an open question. Both letters, however, were undoubtedly composed in Byzantine territory (*ipso facto* following the custom of the imperial chancery), and from there they were sent to the Merovingian court. There are also some early-8th century Lombard sources indicating that this usage may have continued for several centuries at the royal court: king Liutprand in 715 used the phrase *regnum nostrum* (‘Our Majesty’) speaking of himself in official capacity.⁴⁵ Presumably, these customs reached the Lombard court from Byzantine Italy.

The oldest preserved Greek original of a Byzantine imperial letter, the famous *Kaiserbrief aus St. Denis*, dated to the first half of the 9th century, contains at least two instances: τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐ[κ θεοῦ βασιλείας], and τῆ]ς ἐκ θεο[ῦ βασ]ιλείας ἡ[μῶν – ‘of Our Emperorship from God’.⁴⁶ The letter of St Denis belongs to the early phase of Byzantine communication with the West, when letters were still emitted only in Greek. Apart from this, there are not many extant Greek documents available for comparison with their contemporary Latin translation, but those that did survive unequivocally confirm that the emperors constantly used the transpersonal term βασιλεία when referring to

42 *Epistulae Austr.* 3, 140, no. 29; Classen 1983: 193.

43 *Reg. Greg.* II, 1899, 397 =13, 34.

44 *Ep. Austr.* 40 (146–47): *sicut regni vestri christianitas habet cogitare (...) regni vestri gloria consequatur*; 41 (147): *Quantum christianitas regni vestri exquiret cottidia*; Gillett 2011: 74.

45 Niermeyer 1976: 902–03 (*obtulisti in presentia regni nostri iudicatum*).

46 *Reg.* 413. Brandi 1908: 11–12; Dölger 1931: 8–9, no. 2; new edition: Dölger 1956: 207.5–7. Cf. Dölger & Karayannopoulos 1968: 91. The letter is variously dated: Brandi 1908 (813–817), Dölger 1951 (May 841), Ohnsorge 1955 (May 843), McCormick 2001: 899, no. 315 (812–850). Gastgeber 2010: 89, n.2 gives a review of earlier literature. Most recently, McCormick 2005: 147–48 dated the letter to 827, with plausible arguments. On the other hand, Shepard 2014a: 71–72 deems it more probable that this was in fact the letter delivered by Theodosios Aboutzikos to emperor Lothar in 842, concerning joint Frankish-Byzantine expedition against the Saracens in North Africa. For the context of this slightly later date (on the lines of Dölger) – Shepard 1995: 45–46.

themselves: *pium imperium nostrum*, *gaudium a Deo imperium nostrum*, or simply *imperium nostrum* are consistently used.⁴⁷

Adapted in diplomatic discourse by the other side, this discourse in abstract and transpersonal terms permeated the documents sent to Constantinople by, for example, the Roman curia, such as two letters of pope Gregory II (715–731) to emperor Leo III, which respectfully observe the imperial protocol. The emperor is twice addressed as “your God-defended Sovereignty and Fraternity in Christ” (*vestrum a Deo conservatum imperium atque in Christo fraternitas – τὰ γράμματα τῆς ὑμετέρας θεοφρουρήτου βασιλείας καὶ ἐν Χριστῷ ἀδελφότητος*).⁴⁸ Pope John VIII still used the same manner of address in his instructions to the legates sent to Basil I in 879: “Kneel before Your Emperorship from God (...) Your Lordship from God (...) If Your Emperorship commands, the letters will be shown”.⁴⁹ The letter from, pope Hadrian II to Basil I and his sons in 871 points to the same conclusion. Although the original of Basil’s Greek letter is lost, the pope’s answer in Latin is a testament to the fact that the first letter contained the sort of ‘majestic discourse’ we are discussing here. Hadrian’s letter often addresses Basil as *imperium vestrum* (‘Your Emperorship’).⁵⁰ Considering this, the Greek original (or its Latin version) evidently contained the phrase ἡ βασιλεία ἡμῶν (*imperium nostrum*).

Considering all the above, we can form a few preliminary observations and hypotheses based on the following observations about Venice, Dalmatia and Istria:

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- 47 Reg. 346 (*divalis sacra* of Constantine VI and Irene preceding the Nicaean Council of 787), 408 (letter of Michael II to Louis the Pious in 824), 488 (letter of Basil I to Hadrian II in 871). Notably, these were translated by Hilduin of St Denis (letter 824) and Anastasius the Librarian – Brandt 1908: 40; Classen 1983: 197; Gastgeber 2010: 90–91.
- 48 *Sacrorum Conciliorum* 12: 959, Ep. 1 and 975, Ep. 2 = *Seventh Council*: i, xii. The authenticity of these letters is problematic; in their extant form they were composed probably in the 9th century, T.S. Brown 1984: 156 and n.24; Brubaker & Haldon 2001: 277.
- 49 MGH, Epp., 7, 1928, 188, n.211a: *Commonitorium Iohannis VIII. papae ad legatos suos*, 188.22–23: “Προσκυνεῖ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐκ θεοῦ βασιλείαν (...) τὸ ὑμετερον ἐκ θεοῦ κράτος” = *Sacrorum Conciliorum* 18A: 467 – *Salutat vestrum ex Deo Imperium* (...) *vestram ex Deo potentiam*; 188.28: “Εἰ κελεύει ἡ βασιλεία ὑμῶν, ἰδέτω τὰς ἐπιστολάς” = *Sacrorum Conciliorum* 18A: 467 – *Si iubet imperium vestrum, videat epistolas*. Cf. McCormick 2005: 141. More on the instructions to Western envoys on how they were to comport themselves when in the imperial presence: Gillett 2012.
- 50 *Sacrorum Conciliorum* 16: 206.

Venice, Dalmatia, Istria:

- all are *homines Latini*
- all are subjects of the Byzantine emperor
- all share common linguistic traits
- all were under direct or indirect Byzantine rule around the same time
- all the relevant sources date from the early 9th century

Questions:

- is all of this a coincidence?
- what is the origin of this discourse?
- are there any equivalents in other Byzantine sources?

3 The Case of Dalmatia

Apart from a dozen Greek charters from Dubrovnik (12th–15th centuries) and a Latin one from Split (1180), most Byzantine imperial acts addressed to Dalmatia have regrettably been lost.⁵¹ This comes as no surprise taking into account their general scarcity.⁵² Even when speaking of Byzantine embassies, the dominant sources are the Latin, Western ones.⁵³ For example, there are only ten preserved Byzantine imperial acts addressed to Venice (992–1198),⁵⁴ three to Pisa (1111–1192),⁵⁵ and five to Genoa (1169–1193).⁵⁶ The ones directed towards Venice have been preserved only in a Latin translation, while the ones addressed to Pisa and Genoa have come to us both in the Greek original and in Latin translation. The long-term Byzantine cultural presence must be measured by a different set of criteria.

51 Jireček 1899: 31, 81–2, n.83; 1903: 502–04; Marc 1903: 100; Marković 1952. Although *ἡ βασιλεία μου* was used many times in charters from Dubrovnik and Split, this fact is in itself insufficient to prove the previous existence of the same syntax, since all the said charters date from the Late Byzantine period.

52 Müller 2008: 129; Dölger & Karayannopoulos 1968: 25–26, 129–34. Imperial letters to foreign rulers: Brubaker & Haldon 2001: 281–82; Lounghis 1980: 371–98. Cf. also the list of imperial letters (*jussiones, sacrae*) from 451 to 787 in Lounghis 1979, 73–80, no. 1–68. A more detailed list is in Karayannopoulos & Weiß 1982: 313–419. Until the 1900's, only 80 imperial acts prior to the 10th century were known – Brandt 1908: 21–31. According to T.S. Brown 1984: 148, in the period 565–775 as many as 76 of 337 known imperial acts concerned Italy. McCormick 2005: 143, according to Dölger concludes that from the period 565–1025 altogether 27 more-or-less wholly preserved imperial letters reached us: 8 are Greek originals, 8 are Latin translations; the remaining 11 letters were written in Oriental languages.

53 McCormick 2001: 276 ff; 2007: 56, n.31.

54 Reg. 781, 1081, 1304, 1365, 1373, 1576–78, 1590 and 1647. See the most recent edition in Pozza & Ravegnani 1993.

55 Reg. 1255, 1499 (1400) and 1607.

56 Reg. 1488, 1497–98, 1609 and 1616.

This holds true for the entire Adriatic basin. For example, the final Latin formula *Legimus* of Byzantine imperial charters was introduced into the chancery of archbishops of Ravenna as early as the 7th century.⁵⁷ The same *Legimus* entered Carolingian diplomatics during the reign of Charlemagne, as did the royal attribute *a Deo conservato* – a direct translation of one of the Byzantine imperial titles: θεοφύλακτος.⁵⁸ Lead seals of the doges of Venice were introduced (ca. 1141) on the model of Byzantine seals.⁵⁹ Charters of early medieval Neapolitan dukes were called *verbum sigillatum*, evidently a clumsy literal translation of the Greek χρυσόβουλλος λόγος.⁶⁰ It is a case of a semantic calque, just like the Dalmatian *imperium* or Venetian *dominatio*. Similarly, Byzantine letters to foreign recipients were sometimes called *imperiale* (verbatim translation of βασιλικόν), especially when addressed to Italian communes.⁶¹ The title of a Croat court dignitary in the 11th century, *tepcija* (*tepciza*, *tepti*, *tepci*) is also of Byzantine origin, deriving from the Greek term *topotèrètès* (τοποτηρητής). Latin-speaking Byzantine southern Italy similarly deformed the same term (*tepoteriti*, *topoteritis*, *tepotati*).⁶²

Gottschalk probably learned of Venetian terminology during his stay with Eberhard, margrave of Friuli, in Cividale del Friuli (ca. 836/840–846),⁶³

57 Santoni 2011: 132; Dölger & Karayannopoulos 1968: 34–35, 55–56; Falkenhausen 2011: 307.

58 Metzger 1971: 54; Bonenfant 1951; Garipzanov 2005: 49.

59 Pozza 2011: 164; Falkenhausen 2011: 307.

60 Martin 2011: 63; Falkenhausen 2011: 307.

61 Dölger 1956: 37; Dölger & Karayannopoulos 1968: 89.

62 Margetić 1986: 259–60; Cheynet 1984.

63 McCormick 1994: 22–23. According to McCormick (2001: 923–24, no. 479) Gottschalk left Eberhard's court under Hrabanus' pressure in 846 and traveled to Venice, where he stayed for two years. Two basic sources for Gottschalk's stay in Italy are the letters of Hrabanus Maurus to Notting, bishop of Verona (May 840) and to Eberhard, margrave of Friuli (ca. 846), translated by Gumerlock in Genke & Gumerlock 2010: 165–67. They provide a precise chronological framework for the last five or six years of Gottschalk's Italian sojourn, which lasted a whole decade. The letters also enable us to shape the spatial radius of Gottschalk's activity during these five years: Friuli and northeastern Italy in general, as well as the hinterland of Venice (the bishop of Verona complained to Hrabanus that Gottschalk's predestination heresy had spread in his diocese). Genke 2010: 28. There is no doubt, therefore, that Gottschalk came into contact with Byzantine Venice between 836/840 and 846. Pezé (2013: 140–45) further discusses Hrabanus' letter to Notting, who occupied the episcopal throne in Verona ca. 834–43. He also points out that Gottschalk's activity in Verona left some trace among the local clergy. The codex BNF Lat. 3226 contains the correspondence between *scholaster* Vitalis, archdeacon Pacificus (both from Verona), and Frankish monk Hildemar of Corbie, then stationed in Milan, written in 844/45. They discuss a certain heresy that has taken root in the area of Verona, concerning the predestination of Adam (Pezé 2013: 148–50). The debate was most likely the result of Gottschalk's presence in northern Italy. Cf. also Gillis 2017: 94.

whereas his sojourn in Dalmatia and Croatia can be dated to 846–848 or 845–847.⁶⁴ Wherever Gottschalk collected his impressions on the spoken style in Dalmatia, his interlocutors must have been from the upper echelons of society.⁶⁵ Finally, that only social elites came into direct contact with Constantinople is best evidenced by the *Placitum* of Rižana: only the tribunes went ‘to the Empire’. In the latter case, this is further proof that the written documents lie behind the phrases in question. Gottschalk was chiefly in touch with the urban, social elite, most assuredly with members of the clergy and nobility, both of which had unlimited access to official correspondence with Constantinople. Addressees in the cities of Byzantine Dalmatia doubtlessly from time to time received letters and documents from the imperial chancery; the official summons to the Council of Nicaea in 787 is evidence enough. There are strong indications that these invitations were themselves formulated in a way that reflected the official and legally recognised imperial title: “*Sacra* to the most holy Bishops, who, by the grace of God and by the command of Our Pious Sovereignty (τῆς ἡμετέρας εὐσεβοῦς βασιλείας), have met together in the Council of Nicæa”.⁶⁶

Imperial orders (κέλευσις, *iussio*) were sent in a well-known and strictly defined form, with a template recorded in *BOC*.⁶⁷ One such imperial order must have been the one sent by Basil I to Ragusa and other cities of Dalmatia, thereby ordering them to participate in the siege of Bari in 870; the respective text clearly shows that the Ragusans received an imperial mandate – βασιλική κέλευσις.⁶⁸ This again points to a political dependence of Dalmatian towns on Byzantine sovereignty, as well as to the reception of imperial documents as a relatively normal and usual occurrence.⁶⁹

64 Rapanić 1992: 91–100. For more precise dating see Schneider 1990: 245. Ivanišević 1992: 46 (cf. Grmek 1994: 438) dates Gottschalk’s stay at Trpimir’s court to 846–848. According to De Jong 1996: 86, Gottschalk went to Italy and Dalmatia in 845–846. Genke (2010: 27) dates the Italian trip 835–836/840–845.

65 Rapanić 1992: 104; 2013: 62–63.

66 *Concilium Nicaenum* 42.2–3 = *Sacra sanctissimis episcopis qui uoluntate et gratia dei ac iussione pii imperii nostri conuenerunt in Nicena synodo* (43.2–3); *Seventh Council* 1850: 4–5.

67 Ferluga 1976: 261–90; Ostrogorski 1936: 49–50; Malamut 2000: 595.

68 *DAI*, 29.110–11. Cf. also McCormick 2001: 937, no. 565 on the Ragusan envoys in Constantinople as early as 867.

69 Dvornik *et al.* 1962: 105 (R.J.H. Jenkins); Ferluga 1978: 150. For κέλευσις see Katičić 1993: 107–18, 119. On the participation of these areas in different overlapping circles under Byzantine influence and the concept of ‘multiple peripheries’ cf. Shepard 2017: 87 and Shepard 2018. Regarding the Byzantine rule over eastern and northern Adriatic in particular, see recent text: Ančić 2018. A recent review of contacts between the imperial authorities and Dalmatia is Budak 2018b. Different aspects of Byzantine influence over Dalmatia are analysed in Basić 2010; 2013a; 2013b; 2016; 2017/18, and forthcoming.

The central government appointed all of the governors (*strategoï*), including the *strategos* of Dalmatia.⁷⁰ The establishment of the Theme of Dalmatia should be dated to the time of Leo V (813–820), the early reign of Michael III (842/843–846/848) or to the first decade of Basil I's reign (867–878).⁷¹ Since the *strategoï* of Dalmatia were listed in the official lists of state offices (*taktika*), their Constantinopolitan origin is assured. This lasted until ca. 971/975, after which they were recruited locally, usually merging the office of *strategos* with the office of *prior* (mayor) of the city of Zadar.⁷² Beginning with the establishment of the *theme* in the 9th century and ending in the last quarter of the 10th century, every *strategos* of Dalmatia invariably came from Constantinople, was probably Greek, and went through an elaborate investiture ceremony in front of the emperor in the Chrysotriklinos involving the inevitable formula "My Emperorship from God appoints you *strategos*". Since every new *strategos* after the expiration of his predecessor's term (according to Ferluga, this lasted ca. 3–4 years) had to be appointed personally by the emperor in Constantinople, this means that the investiture ceremony for the *strategos* of Dalmatia in Chrysotriklinos took place relatively often prior to 986.⁷³

One neglected aspect is the routine administrative correspondance between Constantinople and the provinces, which included imperial legislature, laws, edicts, orders, etc. These documents do occasionally crop up in the sources, like the edict against icons of Leo III (ca. 726) or his *Ecloga* of the same year, which incidentally also used the phrase βασιλεία in reference to the emperor.⁷⁴ Although there is no direct contemporary evidence for Byzantine legislative acts in the eastern Adriatic, a marked reception of Byzantine law must have taken place (*Ecloga*, laws of Basil I, the *Basilika* of Leo VI of ca. 892), since traces of Byzantine legal norms have been detected in the later medieval law of Dalmatia and Istria.⁷⁵

The fact that the same phraseology is present in Venice, Dalmatia and Istria, at the same time, in my opinion is not a mere coincidence. It results from the fact that these were provinces under long-term Byzantine rule, which of course received a number of official imperial documents. This argument is further supported by sigillographic evidence. Namely, at least nine seals of

70 *De Cer.*, 2, 788. Ferluga 1978: 184.

71 For an overview of sources and historiography see Basić 2015: 450; Gračanin 2015: 508.

72 Ferluga 1978: 160–70, 183–85, 235. Tacticons with details on Dalmatian dignitaries – Oikonomidès 1972: 57.12, 59.8, 101.31, 105.23, 139.19, 247.29, 267.8.

73 Ferluga 1978: 170–71.

74 *Ecloga*: 160.21, 166.90, 226.777 (17.3); Minale 2012a. On administrative contacts cf. T.S. Brown 1984: 154; McCormick 2001: 866, no. 118.

75 For a short synthesis see Karbić & Grbavac 2015: 239. The seminal works are Margetić 1978 and 1984.

Byzantine officials and one imperial seal are presently known in Dalmatia, and new ones keep surfacing. The earliest is one of Paul, the Exarch of Ravenna (723–726), seven can be dated to ca. 9th/10th century and the latest is one of Leo *spatharokandidatos* – [...] of Croatia (10th/11th c.). The names of the officials betray their Greek origin (Georgios, Theophylaktos, Euthymios, Eustathios).⁷⁶ To these should be added two very early seals recently associated with Dubrovnik (*Laousion, Rhaousion, Ragusium*) – the seal of Theodoulos, *spatharokandidatos* and *katepano tou Laou(...)* and the one of Eupraxios, also *spatharokandidatos* and *katepano tou La(...)*. Prigent dated the former to the period of the Amorion dynasty (ca. 820–867), dating the latter roughly to the early period of the Macedonian dynasty (ca. 860–880).⁷⁷ There is also a seal of Nicholas, *protospatharios, strategos* of Zadar and *katepano* of Dalmatia (ca. 1065), and a molybdobull of Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–1055).⁷⁸ This list, although sketchy, nonetheless indicates that Byzantine officials were present in Dalmatia as early as the 8th century and from then up until the 11th century, and as such were in a position to occasionally receive imperial documents, according to Bali most often in the form of a simple order (πρόσταγμα) sealed by the usual lead seal.⁷⁹

A catalogue of these seals for the Balkan area during the *grand brèche* was compiled by Curta in 2004, followed by new studies. According to the studies of Byzantine sigillography – recently summarised in a seminal paper by Cheynet and Caseau – seals were not used for ordinary documents. They were used to authenticate a document or an object. Although all of them have been separated from the documents to which they were attached, the surviving seals nonetheless bear witness to the fact that Greek documents issued for the area of Byzantine Dalmatia must have existed. All of these governors and officials obviously arrived from Constantinople with a mandate from the emperor, sanctioned by an imperial document, a letter presumably containing the usual formulae of the imperial chancery, such as βασιλεία ἡμῶν. It is reasonable to assume that Gottschalk picked up these phrases either from the local aristocratic elites within the cities of Dalmatia, or in close contact with the Byzantine governor who resided in Zadar with his retinue, his gubernatorial *officium*.⁸⁰

76 Nikolajević 1961; Nesbitt & Oikonomidès 1991: 47–48, no. 14.1–5; Ančić 2000: 282–84; Mirnik 2006: 481; Kislinger 2011: 342; Cheynet & Caseau 2012: 138; Bali 2014: 168–69.

77 Prigent 2008: 414–16; Bali 2014: 172.

78 Mošin 1972; Mirnik 1986. A complete gazetteer of Byzantine seals of Dalmatian provenance is lacking – for the time being see Ančić 2000; Curta 2004: 180–89; Bali 2014.

79 Bali 2014: 169.

80 The structure of the *officium* of the *strategos* of Dalmatia in Zadar was recreated by Ferluga 1978: 172–76.

4 The Case of Venice

Apart from a suspicious letter purportedly sent by Leo III to the patriarch of Grado in 727 – containing terms such as *nostra imperialis maiestas* and *pre-sente hoc nostrum preceptum more imperii nostri de bulla nostra infigi iussimus* – there are no extant Byzantine imperial acts relating to Venice earlier than the 10th century.⁸¹ However, it is certainly indicative that the earliest surviving imperial act relating to Venice – a *chrysobullium sigillum* of Basil II for Venice (March 992) – contains the terms *nostrum imperium* (ἡ βασιλεία ἡμῶν) and *a Deo coronatum nostrum imperium* (ἡ θεοστεφῆς βασιλεία ἡμῶν).⁸²

The Venetian sources of the 8th and 9th centuries contain an abundance of Byzantine titles and dignities, of which *hypatus* is one of the most esteemed, more often than not taking precedence over the title of doge (*dux*); the titles *spatharios* and *protospatharios* are also well attested.⁸³ Their connection with contemporary *hypatoi* of Istria (*Placitum* of Rižana) was noticed long ago. Francesco Borri highlighted the frequently overlooked fact that the Venetian tribuni also received the title of *consul-hypatos* at practically the same time as the Istrians.⁸⁴ This is further evidence of a massive influx of Byzantine documents bestowing such titles. A list of similar events assembled by McCormick attests formal bestowals of imperial titles (*spatharios*, *protospatharios*, *hypatos*) to Venetian officials from 806 to 897, whether by imperial representatives or by the emperor in person during their frequent stays at court; it also attests to several imperial *iussiones* to Venetian doges (822–829).⁸⁵ Visits and sojourns of the members of the Venetian ruling families in Constantinople were

81 The letter is published in Besta 1906 and Cessi 1940a: 31–32, no. 20. According to Cessi 1940b: 100, n.1 and 104–05, n.3 the letter is authentic. Stein 1921 (also T.S. Brown 1984: 156 n.24) argues convincingly that the letter is an early-11th century forgery. Even if this is so, the forgery must have been modeled upon an older original containing the said phrases.

82 Reg. 781 = Pozza & Ravegnani 1993: 22–24; Gastgeber 2003: 126–27.

83 E.g. Cessi 1940a: 49, 92–93, 99, 117–18 no. 30 (770–72), 52–53 (827–29, 829), 60 (853), Cessi 1942: no. 15 (880) and 25 (900). Cf. Martin 2000: 625–26, Marin 2005: 91–92. More on the Venetian *hypatoi*: Carile 2011: 648.

84 Ferluga 1978: 149; Martin 2000: 625; Borri 2008a: 14–15 pointed out a list of nobles of Cittanova and Equilo preserved in the *Chronicon Altinate*: “the Particiaci, called also Baduarii, who were tribunes, before obtaining the imperial dignity of consuls”. According to T.S. Brown (1984: 138–39) in the mid – and late-8th century all the governors in Byzantine Italy bore the title of *consul*.

85 McCormick 2001: 892–963, no. 270, 274, 283, 291, 296–97, 299, 300, 305–06, 358, 361, 371, 376–78, 383, 409, 421, 449, 455, 550, 635, 658, 700, 734. On the relations between Byzantium and Venice in the early Middle Ages the literature is boundless: Cessi 1940b: 39–40, 93–96, 115–18, 135–39, 154–66, 210–13, 245–49, 266–68, 297–98; Nicol 1988: 1–49; for an overview of earlier scholarship see Carile 2011: 629, n.1.

commonplace, as well as awarding Byzantine dignities to the doges and their sons or siblings.⁸⁶

For the most part of the 9th century, then, Venice was as close to the Empire as one could possibly get. This proximity was especially manifest in the first part of the 9th century, exactly when Gottschalk stayed at Eberhard's court nearby, and most likely visited Venetian territory. The fact that Venice particularly abounded in Byzantine charters precisely at the moment when the Frankish theologian observed the 'majestic discourse' of its inhabitants is in all likelihood not accidental.

5 The Case of Istria

As opposed to both the Venetians and the Dalmatians, the Istrians evidently knew and used both *dominatio* (<κράτος) and *imperium* (<βασίλεια) to designate the sovereign. This reciprocity is, on another level, expressly stated in the *Placitum* of Rižana, when the Istrians call the Venetians and Dalmatians their "relatives and neighbours".⁸⁷ As far as one can tell, judging from the *Placitum* of Rižana, prior to Charlemagne's conquest of Istria (ca. 788) the governor of the province (*magister militum Graecorum*) was regularly a Greek sent from Constantinople. At first he was probably appointed by the Exarch of Ravenna, after 751 by the emperor himself.⁸⁸ The visits of imperial envoys were also fairly regular. This strengthened the ties with central government, along with the periodic visits of the provincial elite to Constantinople in order to obtain the dignity of *consul-hypatos*.⁸⁹

86 Marin 2005: 75–76, 87–88. On their trips see Borri 2008a: 14–15. Later on, after 942 (up until 1008) the doges of Venice discarded the Byzantine titles; the last known *κέλευσις* to Venice was issued in 827, Martin 2000: 626.

87 *Placito*, 66.15–17: *vnde omnes d(e)uenimus i(n) paup(er)tate(m) et d(e)rident nostros parentes et c(on)vicinij nostri Venetias et Dalmatias et(iam) Greci sub cuius antea fuimus potestate*. Cf. Borri 2008a: 3–4; 2010b: 2.

88 Ferluga 1978: 121–22; T.S. Brown 1984: 53–56; Levak 2007: 80; Bileta 2011: 112 and n.27, 113. The names of known *magistri militum Graecorum* in Istria are indicative of this, all of them Eastern: Basil, Mastalo, Constantine, another Basil, Stephanos.

89 Ferluga 1978: 149; McCormick 1998: 38; Levak 2007: 80. Some of them are actually mentioned in the *Placitum* – *Placito*, 60.41–42: *possess(io) Mauricij ypati seu Basilii magistri militu(m) instar et d(e) Theodoro ypato*. On the presence of the representatives of central government in the Byzantine provinces see Diehl 1888: 112–23; Guillou 1969: 306; T.S. Brown 1984: 144–63.

As recently emphasised by McCormick, imperial letters did not travel alone, nor did imperial envoys travel without some sort of document. For the period from 700 until 900 only five authentic imperial letters addressed to the non-Byzantine West are preserved. On the other hand, at least 45 Byzantine embassies are attested in the same period – this goes to show that only every ninth letter they carried has reached modern times.⁹⁰ According to McCormick's statistics, between ca. 700 and 900 a total of 83 Byzantine envoys reached the West, whereas 34 Western envoys reached Byzantium.⁹¹ A more restrictive inquiry revealed that between 756 and 840 a total of 30 diplomatic missions were exchanged between the Carolingian and Constantinopolitan courts: 9 Frankish embassies and 21 Byzantine.⁹² Even if we put aside the fact that only a small quantity of sources have reached us, this is a huge number. It helps us to understand how and why Byzantine courtly discourse became so deeply rooted in the Western provinces.⁹³

6 The Case of Sicily

So far I have deliberately suppressed the identity of another source also referring to transpersonal forms of imperial office. To my knowledge, so far, its verbal similarities with the ones from Venice, Istria and Dalmatia have gone unnoticed. This source is evidence given by one Theodore, bishop of Catania in Sicily, who in 787 attended the Ecumenical Council of Nicaea. Before the council, in 785, he was a member of an imperial embassy sent by the strategos of Sicily to Rome, on the orders of Constantine VI. Theodore carried a letter intended to reassure the pope, Hadrian I, of the emperor's orthodoxy; after that the Sicilian bishop travelled to Constantinople with the pope's representatives late in 785. At the Council Theodore gave a report on his mission to Rome and confirmed the authenticity of pope Hadrian's letters to the emperor and

90 Reg. 341, 390, 408, 474, 488. McCormick 2001: 859–963, no. 65, 75, 85, 119, 125, 158, 161–62, 170, 197, 203, 211, 240, 251, 258, 262, 296, 311, 330, 344–45, 347, 383, 399, 425, 445, 449, 456, 465, 518, 535, 553, 568–69, 573, 613, 616, 624, 658, 660, 700, 708, 725, 732–73; 2005: 135, 142.

91 McCormick 2007: 55, 70–72 (Appendix: Check list of Byzantine and Carolingian ambassadors).

92 McCormick 1994: 25–27.

93 T.S. Brown 1984: 155–59; McCormick 1998: 49–50; Borri 2008a: 15–16; Bileta 2011: 117. For an analogous situation in Byzantine southern Italy cf. Peters-Custod 2012. Classical studies are still Guillou 1967; 1969: 231–26; 1989. Cf. Ferluga 1988 and Ravegnani 2004: esp. 81–143. On the issue of Hellenization of Byzantine Italy see in general Diehl 1888: 241–88; Simonini 1969: 50–54. On Byzantine *δουλεία* and *οικείωσις* in Dalmatia cf. Goldstein 1992: 119–20; 1996; 1998; 2003: 5–6; Gračanin 2015: 502–03.

the patriarch.⁹⁴ One passage of Theodore's report on the events of 785, cited in Table 10.4, resembles all of the aforementioned cases of 'majestic discourse' and appears to provide incontrovertible proof that the same had been in use in Sicily, too (Table 10.4).

TABLE 10.4 The report of Theodore, bishop of Catania, on the embassy to Rome from 785

Greek text	Latin translation	English translation
<p>Θεόδωρος ὁ θεοφιλέστατος ἐπίσκοπος Κατάνης εἶπε· Τῆς εὐσεβοῦς βασιλείας κελευσάσης διὰ τιμίας κελεύσεως αὐτῶν ἀποσταλῆναι τὸν σὺν ἐμοὶ δούλον τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀγιοσύνης Λέοντα τὸν θεοσεβέστατον πρεσβύτερον μετὰ καὶ τιμίου γράμματος τοῦ πανιέρου μου δεσπότου, ὁ σέβων τὴν ἀγιοσύνην ὑμῶν ὁ τῆς κατ' ἐμὲ Σικελῶν ἐπαρχίας στρατηγὸς ἀπέστειλέ με εἰς Ῥώμην μετὰ εὐσεβοῦς κελεύσεως τῶν ὀρθοδόξων βασιλέων ἡμῶν· καὶ ἀπελθόντων ἡμῶν τὴν πίστιν τῆς εὐσεβοῦς βασιλείας ἡμῶν καὶ ὀρθοδοξίαν ἀνηγγείλαμεν.</p>	<p><i>Theodorus deo amabilis episcopus Cataniae dixit: Pio imperio iubente per honorabiles iussiones suas mittere Leonem dei cultorem presbyterum, qui una mecum seruus est uestrae sanctitatis, simul cum pretiosa epistola sacratissimi domini mei, ille qui colit sanctitatem uestram, Siculorum scilicet meae prouinciae magistratus, misit me Romam cum pia iussione horthodoxorum imperatorum nostrorum. Qui abeuntes fidem pii imperii nostri et horthodoxiam denuntiauimus.</i></p>	<p>Theodore, Bishop of Catana, said to the Patriarch: "Our religious Sovereigns having commanded, in their most honourable mandate, that Leo, a most religious Presbyter, should be sent with me, the servant of your Holiness, with the valued letter of our most sacred master the Governor of our province in Sicily, who ever holds your Holiness in highest estimation, forwarded us to Rome with the sacred letters of our orthodox Sovereigns; and when we arrived we declared the faith and</p>

94 *Sacrorum Conciliorum* 12: 1075–78. On Theodore (attested ca. 785–787), see <http://www.pbe.kcl.ac.uk/person/p7424> and Reg. 341. On this mission, see McCormick 2001: 881, no. 206. In total, I detected a further seven instances of βασιλεία in the same Acts, always either in reference to the emperor, or as a self-designation of the emperor, all regularly translated as *imperium* (*nostrum/pium/pacificum/a Deo concessum/tranquillissimum*) – *Concilium Nicaenum*: 42.2–3, 15–19; 46.1–3, 28–29; 120.25–26, 232.16, 244.9–12.

TABLE 10.4 The report of Theodore, bishop of Catania (*cont.*)

Greek text	Latin translation	English translation
καὶ ὁ μακαριώτατος πάπας ἀκούσας εἶπεν ὅτι “ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῶν εἰ γένηται τοῦτο, μεγαλύναι ἔχει ὁ θεὸς τὴν εὐσεβῆ βασιλείαν αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τὰς ἔμπροσθεν βασιλείας.” <i>Concilium Nicaenum:</i> 172.12–20	<i>Et beatissimus papa audiens dixit quia “si in diebus imperii eorum factum fuerit hoc, magnificare habet deus pium imperium eorum super priora regna.”</i> <i>Concilium Nicaenum:</i> 173.14–21	orthodoxy of our religious rulers; and the most blessed Pope, having heard us, said in reply: ‘If, in the days of their sovereignty, this should be accomplished, God will magnify the reign of their piety above the reigns of any of their predecessors.’” <i>Seventh Council: 71</i>

Theodore's oral statement is the final piece of the puzzle: here we have for the first time a first-hand account of a contemporary using Byzantine lexical features while referring to the ruling emperor – something we lacked in the case of Gottschalk and the *Placitum* of Rižana (both second-hand or anonymous accounts). Both times Theodore mentioned his sovereign (Constantine VI) he did so in a way directly reminiscent of our sources from Venice, Dalmatia and Istria. He received a mandate (*κελεύσις-iussio*) from the emperor – designated in transpersonal form (*βασιλεία-imperium*). When describing the emperor's orthodoxy to the pope, Theodore again calls his sovereign *βασιλεία ἡμῶν-imperium nostrum*, instead of the expected *βασιλεύς-imperator*. The authenticity of Theodore's report is beyond doubt. Moreover, he was an inhabitant of a Byzantine province, an imperial subject *par excellence*.

7 Concluding Remarks: Adriobyzantism, Latin Byzantinism, or Something Else?

The resemblances between Gottschalk's writings relating to Dalmatia and Venice, the *Placitum* of Rižana, and Theodore's narrative for 785 are of such a nature that a common source must be invoked. The mutual verbal similarities are frequent and striking and go beyond mere coincidence. These Byzantine borrowings are actually a semantic calque, adapted to the local circumstances of Dalmatia, Istria, Venice, and Sicily. In brief, Byzantine diplomatic

documents, resulting in standardised common expressions, should be defined as the common source of Gottschalk, Theodore, and the *Placitum* of Rižana, since its existence is deduced primarily from their resemblances.

In my opinion the phrases mentioned by Gottschalk were not simply examples of the everyday-speech of the local populace. They may in fact represent the influence of diplomatic formulas contained in the charters issued by the Byzantine imperial chancery. These documents were written in Greek, published and analysed in special corpora and form the basis of our knowledge of Byzantine diplomatics. If this is a valid assumption, then the penetration of Byzantine bureaucratic language suggests a regular reception of Byzantine administrative documents in Venice, Istria and Dalmatia, as well as regular communication between the people of these areas and Constantinople in relation to ceremonies involving imperial ideology.⁹⁵ Since a certain amount of time is needed for such discourse to take hold, this may hint at the reception of Byzantine documents beginning decades or centuries earlier than the documents in which it first appears. Three neighbouring regions were at the

95 Borri 2008a: 15. Some questions, however, still remain unanswered, such as: why should the people of Byzantine Dalmatia call their ruler *rex* or *regnum*? A possible explanation may lie in the fact that the term βασιλεύς was notoriously ambiguous, even in Classical Antiquity, because it could designate a king as well as an emperor. The title *rex* did not exist in Byzantine intitulation, and it was transferred into medieval Greek from Latin. The Byzantines knew and recognised only the title βασιλεύς, which was reserved for the Byzantine emperor (only later assumed by the emperors of the Franks, Bulgars etc.) – Marót 1962: 175; Goldstein 1983: 148–49; McCormick & Kazhdan 1991; Sansterre 1991: 16; Zuckerman 2010: 883, 886. There was no adequate Latin translation of the word βασιλεύς, because it was sometimes translated as *imperator*, a term rather preferred for translating αὐτοκράτωρ, another preeminent imperial title. The fact that both βασιλεύς and αὐτοκράτωρ could at times be simultaneously rendered as *imperator* created ambiguities and contradictions in Latin imperial titles. On the other hand, Carolingian texts sometimes used the words *rex-regnum* and *imperator-imperium* interchangeably, especially during the reigns of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious – Goetz 1987: 124, 171, 174–75; Sansterre 1991: 37; Van Espelo 2013: 273; Bullough 2003: 383. At least once the terms *regnum* and *imperium* are explicitly equated, in the context of negotiations between Charlemagne and empress Irene about the imperial title in 800: “Around that time, envoys of the Greeks came to him, having been sent from Constantinople laden with lavish gifts, and entreated him to accept their office of kingship and emperorship”. *Annales Nordhumbrani*: 156; McCormick 2001: 889–90, no. 251; Van Espelo 2013: 279, n.102; Fried 2013: 314 and 453, n.109. Furthermore, the wording (*illorum* [sc. *Graecorum*] *regnum et imperium*) leaves no doubt that the office in question was actually Byzantine βασιλεία, imperial power faithfully rendered into Latin as *regnum et imperium*. Gottschalk’s contemporaries in Byzantine Dalmatia would, therefore, have called their sovereign *imperator/imperium* as well as *rex/regnum*, with some ambiguity as to whether they meant it in a technical sense of the word (βασιλεύς/αὐτοκράτωρ). This, however, remains speculative.

same time exposed to the same phenomenon (via Greek documents and periodical travels); moreover, they shared a common linguistic background (vulgar Latin and Proto-Romance). In that way these Latinised traces of Byzantine loanwords represent a sort of Adriobyzantism or Latin Byzantinism, an intellectual product of a marginally Byzantine cultural zone, which in the words of A. Beihammer: “did not produce Byzantine documents in the strict sense, but was, because of a strong Byzantine substrate, based on Greek chancery traditions and administrative practices and thus exhibited all kinds of cross-cultural influences and hybrid forms”.⁹⁶

Therefore, what lay in the background of Gottschalk's observations on the syntax of Dalmatians were in fact complex mechanisms of Byzantine culture. These mechanisms were strong enough and durable enough to reach the Adriatic provinces and remain in local oral and written culture and as such were they witnessed by the Frankish theologian in mid-9th century.

TABLE 10.5 *Imperium and Regnum* in Gottschalk's account of Venetia and Dalmatia

<i>De praedestinatione</i> , chapter IX, § 6	
<p>[fol. 70 v] § 6. <i>Erubescere Sidon, ait enim mare. Nam quemadmodum Sidon interpretatur uenatio et ipsa uenatio pro uenatoribus ponitur in hoc loco, similiter crebro ponitur et dicitur diuinitas et deitas pro deo. Quod [ut] ualeas uidere liquido, diligenter attende quod dicere uolo. Omnes Venetici qui sunt uidelicet intra mare degentes in ciuitatibus homines Latini dominum suum id est imperatorem Graecorum nequaquam uocant dominum sed dominationem. Dicunt enim: Benigna dominatio miserere nostri, et: Fuimus</i></p>	<p>[fol. 70 v] § 6. <i>Be ashamed, Sidon, the sea has said. For, as “Sidon” means “hunting” and “hunting” is used in this passage for “hunters”. Similarly “divinity” and “deity” are often used and said instead of “God”. In order that you may see this clearly, pay careful attention to what I want to say. All the Venetians, that is, Latin people living in the cities on this side of the sea, never call their lord, that is, the emperor of the Greeks, lord, but lordship. For they say: “Your benign lordship, have mercy on us,” and: “We have been before his lordship,” and: “His lordship has told</i></p>

96 Beihammer 2011: 7–8. On Latin Byzantinism see Ortalli 2005; Borri 2008a: 3–4. Cf. also Dzino & Parry 2014; Angelov 2003. Holmes (2010: esp. 145–46) discusses the interrelationship between peripheral elites and the imperial centre, and their side-effects (often unintended), noting the “ubiquity of written culture in Byzantine political contexts, above all the production of texts and inscribed objects by imperial government” (138), supplying an ever-growing demand for (authenticated) imperial documents in the provinces.

TABLE 10.5 *Imperium* and *Regnum* in Gottschalk's account of Venetia and Dalmatia (*cont.*)*De praedestinatione*, chapter IX, § 6

ante dominationem, et: Ita nobis dixit dominatio. Sed ne tibi uilescat illorum quasi rustica loquutio, uide quid sit in caelo. Nam pro dominis dominationes uocantur illi spiritus beati qui sunt inter ceteros in ordine constituti VI^o. [fol. 71 r] Sic ergo dicitur deitas et diuinitas pro deo. Item homines Dalmatini, perinde id est similiter homines Latini Graecorum nihilominus imperio subiecti, regem et imperatorem communi locutione per totam Dalmatiam longissimam reuera regionem regem inquam et imperatorem regnum et imperium uocant. Aiunt enim: *Fuimus ad regnum, et: Stetimus ante imperium, et: Ita nobis dixit regnum, et: Ita nobis loquutum est imperium. Sed nec istud ab illis aestimes absque auctoritate dici, siquidem sancta ecclesia toto terrarum orbe cum ueraciter et fauorabiliter tum satis auctorabiliter laetissima canat de filio dei: In excelso throno uidi sedere uirum quem adorat multitudo angelorum psallentium in unum: ecce cuius imperium nomen est in aeternum id est: ecce cuius nomen imperator est in aeternum. Similiter quoque debes et illud nosse quod sub numero singulari generaliter omnes electi dicuntur et sunt regnum gratis effecti, sicut probat illud apostoli: Cum tradiderit regnum deo et patri id est ut ab beato dicitur Augustino: Eos quos redemit sanguine suo tradiderit contemplando patri suo. Porro huic regno*

us so". But lest their manner of speaking should seem poor to you as rustic, see what is in heaven. For those blessed spirits who are located in sixth ranks among the others are called lordships instead of lords. [fol. 71 r] In that way then "deity" and "divinity" are used instead of "God". Likewise, Dalmatian people, that is, likewise Latin people, but subject to the empire of the Greeks, call the king and emperor by an expression common throughout the whole of Dalmatia, which is a most spacious region, I mean, they call the king and emperor kingdom and empire. For they say: "We were at the kingdom," and: "We stood before the empire," and: "The kingdom has told us so," and: "The empire spoke in that way". But do not think that they say this with no authority, since the Holy Church in whole world truthfully and favorably as well as quite authoritatively sings joyfully about the Son of God: "I have seen a man sit on a high throne, whom the multitude of the angels adore and sing in one voice: 'Behold him whose name for eternity is empire,'" that is: This is the one whose name is for eternity emperor. Likewise you should also know that all the elect are generally spoken of under the singular number and have been gratuitously made a kingdom, as the words of the Apostle proves: *When he shall have handed over the kingdom to God the Father*, that is, as blessed

TABLE 10.5 *Imperium* and *Regnum* in Gottschalk's account of Venetia and Dalmatia (cont.)*De praedestinatione*, chapter IX, § 6

daturus est dominus deus noster rex ubi perpetim regnent cum eo regnum, tunc uidelicet quando dicet illis ipse rex regum: Venite benedicti patris mei, percipite regnum tamquam dicat ut in sancti Augustini [fol. 71 v] exposuit sermone: Qui regnum eratis et non regnabatis, uenite regnate. Non mireris itaque si rex unus regnum uocetur iure, cum tot reges omnes electi – propterea reges deo donante sunt quia sub Christo uero rege semper animas eorum regente corpora sua regunt – regnum uocentur ut sunt rite.

Erubescere Sidon, ait enim mare. Sidon interpretatur uenatio ut supra dictum est. Porro uenatio seu uenator est quisque praedicator dicente domino per prophetam: Ecce ego mittam uenatores meos et uenabuntur eos et piscatores meos et piscabuntur eos. Per mare uero significatur uulgi et plebeia multitudo. Proinde quoniam palam peccat praedicator id est uenator et uulgi eius [est] reprehensor, tunc impletur istud: Erubescere Sion, ait enim mare.
Lambot (1945): 207–09

Augustine says: “When he shall have handed over those whom he redeemed by his blood to contemplate his Father.” But the Lord God, our king, will give to this kingdom the kingdom in order that they may reign there with him forever, that is, when the King of Kings himself says to them: “Come, blessed of my Father, receive the kingdom,” as if he would say as he explained it [fol. 71 v] in the sermon of Saint Augustine: “You who were a kingdom, but did not reign, come and reign.” Therefore, you should not be surprised if the one king is rightly said to be a kingdom, when so many kings, all the elect, are called a kingdom, which they rightly are. For they are kings by God’s gift because they always rule over their bodies under Christ the true king, who rules over their souls.

Be ashamed, Sidon, the sea has said. “Sidon” means “hunting,” as was said above. But hunting or a hunter is any preacher, as the Lord says through the prophet: *Behold, I will send my hunters and they will hunt them, and my fishermen and they will fish them.* But by the sea is signified the common folk and ordinary people. Hence, when the preacher, that is, the hunter, sins openly, and the common folk are the reprimander of him, then these words are fulfilled: *Be ashamed, Sidon, for the sea speaks.*
Genke (2010): 124–25

TABLE 10.6 The phrases τὸ κράτος and τὸ κράτος ἡμῶν in *De Cerimoniis*

Chapter	Greek text	Translation (Moffatt & Tall 2012)
1.0.6–7 (4)	ἀκαλλώπιστον τῷ ὄντι καὶ δυσειδῆ τὴν βασιλείαν ἦν καθορᾶν	The imperial power was in fact unadorned and unattractive to look at
1.1.1–2 (22)	Εἰς πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς χρόνους ὁ Θεὸς ἀγάγοι τὴν βασιλείαν ὑμῶν.	May God guide your reign for many good years!
1.1.10 (25)	Εἰς πολλοὺς χρόνους καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ὁ Θεὸς ἀγάγοι τὴν δικαίαν ὑμῶν βασιλείαν.	May God guide your just reign for many good years!
1.2.1–2 (36)	Πολλοὶ ὑμῖν χρόνοι ἢ ἔνθεος βασιλεία	Many years to you, the divinely-inspired reign!
1.2.11–12 (36)	Πολυχρόνιον ποιήσει ὁ Θεὸς τὴν ἀγίαν βασιλείαν σας εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη.	May God make your holy reign long- lasting for many years!
1.2.6 (37)	Πολυχρόνιον ποιήσει ὁ Θεὸς τὴν ἀγίαν βασιλείαν σας εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη.	May God make your holy reign long- lasting for many years!
1.2.22–23 (38)	Πολυχρόνιον ποιήσει ὁ Θεὸς τὴν ἀγίαν βασιλείαν σας εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη.	May God make your holy reign long- lasting for many years!
1.2.19–20 (39)	ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ὁ τὴν ἡμετέραν προσλαβόμενος σάρκα ἐκ τῆς Παρθένου, τὴν ὑμῶν θεόστεπτον βασιλείαν φυλάξει ἐν τῇ πορφύρα.	May he who assumed our flesh from the Virgin guard your divinely-crowned reign in the purple.
1.2.15 (40)	ὁ ζωοδότης αὐτὸς τὸ κέραν ὑμῶν, δεσπότης, ἀνυψώσει ἐν πάσῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ, τὰ ἔθνη πάντα δουλώσει τοῦ προσφέρειν, ὡς οἱ μάγοι, τὰ δῶρα τῇ ὑμῶν βασιλείᾳ	May the giver of life himself, rulers, raise up your horn in all the empire and may he enslave all the nations to offer, like the Magi, gifts for your reign.
1.3.19 (41)	ἀλλ' ὁ τὸν κόσμον φωτίσας τῇ αὐτοῦ ἐπιφανείᾳ ὑψώσει καὶ μεγαλύνει τὸ κράτος τῆς ὑμῶν βασιλείας εἰς εὐτυχίαν καὶ δόξαν Ῥωμαίων.	May he who has illuminated the world by his epiphany raise up and increase the power of your reign for the good fortune and glory of the Romans!
1.3.8 (42)	Πολυχρόνιον ποιήσει ὁ Θεὸς τὴν ἀγίαν βασιλείαν σας εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη.	May God make your holy reign long- lasting for many years!
1.3.6–7 (43)	Τῷ λουτρῷ γὰρ ἀγιάσας, τῆς ἀφθαρσίας τῷ ἐλαίῳ βαπτίζει τὴν βασιλείαν, σωτηρίαν δωρούμενος τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις καὶ ἀντίληψιν μεγίστην καὶ δόξαν τῆς βασιλείας.	Having sanctified your reign with baptism, he is baptising it with the oil of incorruptibility, granting salvation to the Romans and the greatest support and glory for your reign.

TABLE 10.6 The phrases τὸ κράτος and τὸ κράτος ἡμῶν in *De Cerimoniis* (cont.)

Chapter	Greek text	Translation (Moffatt & Tall 2012)
1.3.18 (43)	Πολυχρόνιον ποιήσει ὁ Θεὸς τὴν ἁγίαν βασιλείαν.	May God make [your] holy reign long-lasting!
1.4.23 (44)	Πολυχρόνιον ποιήσει ὁ Θεὸς τὴν ἁγίαν βασιλείαν σας εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη.	May God make your holy reign long-lasting for many years!
1.4.5 (45)	ὁ γὰρ τῆς δόξης Κύριος τὸ σκυθρωπὸν ἀφανίσας τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τὰ τοῦ ἄδου σκυλεύσας βασιλεία, συνανέστησε τοὺς πάλαι τεθνεώτας.	The Lord of glory, dispelling the gloom of death and plundering the kingdom of Hades, has raised up those who died long ago.
1.4.17–19 (46)	Ὁ γὰρ ἔχων τὸ κράτος τοῦ θανάτου, ὁ τοῦ Πατρὸς συνάναρχος καὶ συναἰδιος Λόγος, σκυλεύσας τὰ βασίλεια τοῦ ἄδου, ἔλυσε τὸν δεσμὸν τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, πᾶσι δωρησάμενος ἐλευθερίαν, ὃς καὶ φυλάξει τὸ κράτος τῆς βασιλείας εἰς δόξαν, εἰς καύχημα, εἰς ἀνέγερσιν Ῥωμαίων.	He who has the power over death, the Word, co-eternal with the Father and everlasting, having plundered the kingdom of Hades, has loosed the bonds of the captives, granting freedom to all. May he guard the power of the reign to the glory, renown and exaltation of Romans.
1.5.11 (49)	Καλῶς ἦλθεν ἡ ἔνθεος βασιλεία	The divinely-inspired reign is welcome.
1.5.10 (50)	Καλῶς ἦλθεν ἡ ἔνθεος βασιλεία	The divinely-inspired reign is welcome.
1.5.14 (51)	Πολυχρόνιον ποιήσει ὁ Θεὸς τὴν ἁγίαν βασιλείαν σας εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη.	May God make your holy reign long-lasting for many years!
1.8.2–3 (58)	Διὸ αὐτὸς ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, εὐεργέται, εὐλογήσει ὑμᾶς ἐν πᾶσι καὶ χαρὰς ἐμπλήσει τὴν ὑμῶν βασιλείαν	So, benefactors, may our God himself bless you in all things and fill your reign with joy.
1.9.2 (61)	Πολυχρόνιον ποιήσει ὁ Θεὸς τὴν ἁγίαν βασιλείαν σας.	May God make your holy reign long-lasting!
1.9.8 (BOC, 62)	Εἰς πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς χρόνους ὁ Θεὸς ἀγάγοι τὴν βασιλείαν ὑμῶν.	May God guide your reign for many good years!
1.17.3–4 (108)	Εἰς πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς χρόνους ὁ Θεὸς ἀγάγοι τὴν βασιλείαν ὑμῶν.	May God guide your reign for many good years!
1.38.6 (195)	ἐν ᾗ τὸ στέφος τῆς βασιλείας	On which the crown of the imperial power ...
1.40.3 (206)	ἐν ᾗ τὸ στέφος τῆς βασιλείας τῆ κορυφῆ σου ἀξίως περιετέθη.	On which the crown of the imperial power has rightly been placed on your head.
1.42.3 (217)	Ὁ Θεὸς καλαῖς ἡμέραις πλεονάσει τὴν βασιλείαν.	May God provide the imperial power with abundant good days!

TABLE 10.6 The phrases τὸ κράτος and τὸ κράτος ἡμῶν in *De Cerimoniis* (cont.)

Chapter	Greek text	Translation (Moffatt & Tall 2012)
1.43.9–10 (222)	Ἀνάτειλον ἡ ἔνθεος βασιλεία.	Rise, the divinely-inspired imperial power!
1.62.17–18 (279)	Κατακοσμείς γὰρ τὸν θρόνον τῆς πατρῴας βασιλείας, σὺν τῇ Αὐγούστη	You adorn the throne of imperial power of your fathers with the augusta
1.63.6 (280)	Ἀνάτειλον ἡ ἔνθεος βασιλεία.	Rise up, the divinely-inspired imperial power!
1.63.22 (280)	Πολλοὶ ὑμῖν χρόνοι, ἡ ἔνθεος βασιλεία.	Many years to you, the divinely-inspired imperial power!
1.63.3–4 (281)	Ἀσύγκριτοι στρατιῶται, οἰκουμένης οἱ πρόμαχοι, στεφηνφόροι, οἱ ἐκ Θεοῦ ὑψωθέντες ἐπὶ θρόνου τῆς βασιλείας	Incomparable soldiers, champions of the empire, who wear the crown, raised up by God to the throne of imperial power
1.63.7 (282)	Κατακοσμείς γὰρ τὸν θρόνον τῆς πατρῴας βασιλείας σὺν τῇ αὐγούστη	You adorn the throne of the imperial power of your fathers with the augusta
1.65.4 (294)	καὶ προελθὼν οὐρανόθεν ἀρχιστράτηγος ὁ μέγας, πρὸ προσώπου σου ἤνοιξεν τὰς πύλας τῆς βασιλείας·	The great Archangel Michael, having come from heaven, has opened the doors of imperial power before your eyes
1.69.13 (319)	Πολυχρόνιον ποιήσει ὁ Θεὸς τὴν ἁγίαν βασιλείαν.	May God make your holy reign long-lasting!
1.69.17–18 (320)	Πολλοὶ ὑμῖν χρόνοι, ἡ ἔνθεος βασιλεία.	Many years to you, the divinely-inspired imperial power!
1.69.17 (322)	τοῦτο γὰρ κέκτηται ἡ πολιτεία ἐς εὐτυχίαν καὶ δόξαν τῆς βασιλείας.	For the state has acquired this [flower] for the good fortune and glory of the imperial power
1.71.20 (349)	καὶ πολιτεύεται χάρις ἐν μέσῳ τῆς βασιλείας	Grace governs midst imperial power
1.71.2 (354)	Πολλοὶ ὑμῖν χρόνοι, ἡ ἔνθεος βασιλεία.	Many years to you, the divinely-inspired imperial power!
1.71.19 (355)	Πολλοὶ ὑμῖν χρόνοι, ἡ ἔνθεος βασιλεία.	Many years to you, the divinely-inspired imperial power!
1.71.8–9 (358)	νικήσουσιν χαροποιοῦντες τὴν βασιλείαν, τὴν πολιτείαν	May they be victorious, bringing joy to the imperial power, to the state;

TABLE 10.6 The phrases τὸ κράτος and τὸ κράτος ἡμῶν in *De Cerimoniis* (cont.)

Chapter	Greek text	Translation (Moffatt & Tall 2012)
1.73.9 (368)	Πολλοὶ ὑμῖν χρόνοι, ἡ ἔνθεος βασιλεία.	Many years to you, the divinely-inspired imperial power!
1.74.15 (369)	Ἀπόκριμα: “Κρίστους, Δέους Νόστερ, κοῦμσέρβρετ ἡμπέριουμ βέστρουμ πέρ μουλτουσάννος ἐτ βόνος.” Ἑρμηνεύεται: “Χριστὸς ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, φυλάξει τὴν βασιλείαν ὑμῶν ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ἔτεσι καὶ καλοῖς.”	Response: “Cristus Deus noster cumservet imperium vestrum per multos annos et bonos!” It is translated: “May Christ our God guard your reign for many good years!”
1.75.20–21 (370)	Τοῦ βασιλέως ἀκουμβίζοντος ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης, καὶ τῆς συνήθους τάξεως πάσης τελουμένης, ἐπειδὰν διὰ νεύματος τοῦ πραιποσίτου ὀφείλωσιν καθεσθῆναι οἱ κεκλημένοι φίλοι, λέγουσιν οἱ πέντε βουκάλιοι: “Κωνσέρβρετ Δέους ἡμπέριουμ βέστρουμ.” “Ὁ ἐστὶ μεθερμηνεύομενον: “Φυλάξει ὁ Θεὸς τὴν βασιλείαν ὑμῶν.”	When the emperor is reclining at the table and all the customary ceremonial is being performed, and when at a sign from the praepositos the guests who have been invited are about to sit, the five chanters recite: “Conservet Deus imperium vestrum,” which is, translated: “May God guard your reign!”
1.83.9–10 (384)	Καὶ μετὰ τὴν συμπλήρωσιν τοῦ ἀλφαβηταρίου, λέγουσιν: “Πολυχρόνιον ποιήσει ὁ Θεὸς τὴν ἁγίαν βασιλείαν σας.”	After the completion of the alphabetical acrostic they recite, “May God make your holy reign long-lasting!”
1.87.6–7 (393)	“Ὅσα δεῖ παραφυλάττειν, ἐὰν ὁ ἀναγορευθεὶς ἐν τοῖς ἄνω μέρεσιν βασιλεὺς ἀποστείλῃ πρέσβεις καὶ λαυρεάτα, μηδέπω δεχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐνταῦθα βασιλέως εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν, καὶ πῶς βεβαιοῖ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις ἀπολύει.	What is necessary to observe if one who has been proclaimed emperor in the western regions, but has not yet been accepted as with imperial power by the emperor here, should send ambassadors and laureate portraits, and how the emperor here confirms that emperor's imperial power and dismisses the ambassadors
1.87.5 (395)	ἐὰν δὲ βεβαιώσει τὴν βασιλείαν, καὶ ὁ ἑπαρχος τῶν πραιτωρίων καὶ ὁ ἑπαρχος τῆς πόλεως, λοιπὸν οὕτως δέχονται ὡς ἐνταῦθα ὄντες ἑπαρχοί, καὶ τὸ περσίκην αὐτοῖς ἀπαντᾷ,	If he confirms the imperial power, the praetorian eparch [of the West] and the eparch of the City [of Rome] are then received as eparchs here, and the sceptre meets them.

TABLE 10.6 The phrases τὸ κράτος and τὸ κράτος ἡμῶν in *De Cerimoniis* (cont.)

Chapter	Greek text	Translation (Moffatt & Tall 2012)
1.88.16 (396)	Ἵσα δεῖ παραφυλάττεσθαι, ὅτε μέλλει δέχεσθαι τοὺς αὐτοὺς πρέσβεις, καὶ βεβαιοὶ τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ ἀπολύειν αὐτούς.	What must be observed when the emperor is about to receive the said ambassadors and confirm the imperial power and dismiss them
1.91.12–13 (412)	ὑπὲρ ἐντεύξεως τῆς ἀγίας καὶ εὐτυχῶς βασιλείας μου ἀνά εἴ νομισμάτων καὶ λίτραν ἀργύρου καταβουκόυλον δώσω.	For your prayer for my holy and fortunate imperial power I will give you five nomismata each and a pound of silver to each soldier.
1.91.16 (412)	χρυσέους αἰῶνας βασιλεύουσα εὐτυχῆς εἴῃ ἡμῖν ἢ βασιλεία σου.	May your reign be a fortunate one for us, reigning over a golden age!
1.92.4 (419)	ἡ ὑμετέρα γενναϊότης τὰ πρέποντα καὶ νῦν τῇ καθοσιώσει συνήθως ἐπεδείξατο καὶ τὴν εὐταξίαν ἐβεβαίωσεν, τὰ ὀφειλόμενα τῇ βασιλείᾳ φυλάξασα.	Your noble character has habitually exhibited appropriate behaviour, as now in your loyalty, and it has ensured good order, guarding what is essential to the reign.
1.92.13 (421)	προβαλούμεθα ἄνδρα εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ ὀρθόδοξον καὶ ἀγνόν.	We will appoint to the ruling power a man who is both orthodox and beyond reproach.
1.92.9 (424)	πρὸς τὸ ἀναδέξασθαι τῆς βασιλείας τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὴν φροντίδα.	To take upon myself the care of the imperial power of the Romans.
1.92.17 (424)	ἄξιε τῆς βασιλείας, ἄξιε τῆς τριάδος, ἄξιε τῆς πόλεως.	Worthy of the imperial power! Worthy of the Trinity! Worthy of the City!
1.92.6 (425)	ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐορτῆς τῆς εὐτυχῶς ἡμῶν βασιλείας ἀνά εἴ νομισμάτων καὶ λίτραν ἀργύρου ὑμῖν καταβούκολον δώσω.	For the (inaugural) festival of our fortunate reign, I will give you five nomismata each and a pound of silver to each soldier.
1.93.19 (429)	τῇ τοῦ παντοδυνάμου Θεοῦ κρίσει, τῇ τε ὑμετέρᾳ κοινῇ ἐκλογῇ πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν χωρήσαντες, τὴν οὐράνιον πρόνοιαν ἐπικαλούμεθα.	Since we accede to the imperial power by the judgement of almighty God and by your common choice, we invoke heavenly foresight.
1.93.12–13 (430)	ἄξιε τῆς βασιλείας, ἄξιε τῆς τριάδος, ἄξιε τῆς πόλεως.	Worthy of the imperial power! Worthy of the Trinity! Worthy of the City!

TABLE 10.6 The phrases τὸ κράτος and τὸ κράτος ἡμῶν in *De Cerimoniis* (cont.)

Chapter	Greek text	Translation (Moffatt & Tall 2012)
1.93.15–16 (430)	ὕπερ τῆς ἑορτῆς τῆς ἡμετέρας εὐτυχούς βασιλείας ἀνά ε' νομισμάτων και λίτραν ἀργύρου ὑμῖν καταχάσμα δωρήσομαι.	For the (inaugural) festival of our fortunate reign, I will grant to each of you five nomismata each and a pound of silver a head.
1.96.17 (433)	κατέλειπεν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ βασιλείαν Βασιλείῳ και Κωνσταντίνῳ	He left his imperial power to Basil (II) and Constantine (VIII).
App.1.1 (474–5)	προαποστέλλει δὲ τοὺς βασιλικούς και πάντας, ἵνα ὑπαντήσωσι τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ εἰς Πύλας,	He sends in advance the emperor's men and all the others to meet his imperial highness at Pylai.
App.1.5–6 (482)	και ὑπομιμνήσκειται περὶ τούτου ὁ βασιλεὺς, και εἴ τι κελεύει ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ.	And the emperor is informed of this and asked what the imperial highness wishes.
App.1.7–8 (483)	ἐν τῇ ζωῇ τῆς βασιλείας σου και ἡμεῖς οἱ δοῦλοι σου ὑγιαίνομεν.	While you live and reign, we, your servants, also enjoy health.
App.1.5–6 (484)	ἀγωνίσασθε, τοῦ Χριστοῦ στρατιῶται και παιδί' ἐμὰ, ἵνα ἐν καιρῷ δέοντι ἐπιδείξησθε τὴν γενναϊότητα και τὴν ἀνδρείαν ὑμῶν και τὴν πρὸς Θεὸν και βασιλείαν ἡμῶν πίστιν ὀρθὴν και ἀγάπην, ἵνα ἡ βασιλεία ἡμῶν ἀξίως τῆς ἀνδρείας και γενναϊότητος ὑμῶν και ὀρθῆς πίστεως και ἀγάπης εὐνοϊαν ἀποδεξαμένη ἀνταμείψηται και εὐεργετήσῃ.	Strive, soldiers of Christ and my children, so that in time of need you will show your nobility of spirit and bravery and your orthodox faith and love for God and our imperial power, so that our imperial power, in acknowledgment, may worthily repay and reward the favour of your bravery
2, Index, 27 (512)	Ὅπως Ἡράκλειος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου πατρὸς ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ καίσαρος ἀξίας ἀνήχθη εἰς τὸ σχῆμα τῆς βασιλείας, και πῶς Δαβίδ, ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ, γέγονε καίσαρ.	How Herakleios (II, also called Heraklonas) was promoted by his father (Herakleios I) from the title of caesar to the position of imperial power, and how David, his brother, became Caesar.
2.0.13 (517)	διὰ ταῦτα δὴ και πρὸς τὴν παρούσαν συλλογὴν ταύτην και μὴ τισι πονηθεῖ- σαν ἄλλοις τῆς τακτικῆς διανέστημεν μεθόδου, τὴν μὲν βασιλείαν ταύτην βασιλικωτέραν και φωβερωτέραν ἀποδεικνύντες·	For these reasons then, we embarked on an orderly plan also for this present collection, achieved by no others, thus showing the emperor's power as more imperial and awe-inspiring.

TABLE 10.6 The phrases τὸ κράτος and τὸ κράτος ἡμῶν in *De Cerimoniis* (cont.)

Chapter	Greek text	Translation (Moffatt & Tall 2012)
2.3.18 (526)	ἐπὶ ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος προβάλλεται σε ἢ ἐκ Θεοῦ βασιλεία μου δομέστικον τῶν θεοφυλάκτων σχολῶν.	In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, my Imperial power from God appoints you domestikos of the divinely-guarded scholai.
2.4.13 (528)	ἐν ὀνόματι πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος προβάλλεται σε ἢ ἐκ Θεοῦ βασιλεία ἡμῶν ραίκτωρα.	In the name of the Father and Son and Holy Spirit, our imperial power from God appoints you rector.
2.5.14 (530)	ἐπὶ ὀνόματος πατρὸς, υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος προβάλλεται σε ἢ ἐκ Θεοῦ βασιλεία ἡμῶν σύγκελλον.	In the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, our imperial power from God appoints you synkellos.
2.5.18 (530)	ἡ βασιλεία ἡμῶν προεβάλετο τοῦτον σύγκελλον.	Our imperial power has appointed this person synkellos.
2.10.1 (547)	πολυχρόνιον ποιήσει ὁ θεὸς τὴν βασιλείαν ὑμῶν.	May God make your holy reign long-lasting!
2.14.2 (565)	ἡ θεία χάρις καὶ ἡ ἐξ αὐτῆς βασιλεία ἡμῶν προβάλλεται τὸν εὐλαβέστατον τοῦτον πατριάρχην Κωνσταντινουπόλεως.	The grace of God and our imperial power derived from it appoint this most pious man patriarch of Constantinople.
2.18.10 (606)	ἰστέον, ὅτι ἡ τῶν βρουμαλίων αὐτῆ τάξις ἠλλοιώθη καὶ εἰς τὸ μηκέτι εἶναι παρήχθη ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Ῥωμανοῦ δεσπότης.	Note that this ceremonial for the Broumalia was changed, and it reached the point of ceasing to exist in the reign of the ruler Romanos.
2.19.7–8 (612)	αὖξει ἡ βασιλεία τῶν Ῥωμαίων.	May the imperial power of the Romans increase!
2.19.13 (612)	πολυχρόνιον ποιήσει ὁ Θεὸς τὴν ἁγίαν βασιλείαν ὑμῶν εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη»	May God make your holy reign long-lasting for many years!
2.21.15–16 (616)	εἶτα κληρονόμον γενέσθαι τῆς πατρικῆς ἐξουσίας καὶ βασιλείας, ὡς ἂν ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καλῶς διευθύνοντο καὶ διεξάγειτο βασιλεία τε καὶ πολιτεία.	Then becoming heir to his father's power and empire, so that both the empire and the state of the Romans may be properly organised and conducted.

TABLE 10.6 The phrases τὸ κράτος and τὸ κράτος ἡμῶν in *De Cerimoniis* (cont.)

Chapter	Greek text	Translation (Moffatt & Tall 2012)
2.27.14 (627)	Ὅπως Ἡράκλειος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου πατρὸς ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ καίσαρος ἀξίας ἀνήχθη εἰς τὸ σχῆμα τῆς βασιλείας, καὶ πῶς Δαβὶδ, ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ, γέγονε καίσαρ.	How Herakleios (II) was promoted by his father (Herakleios I) from the rank of caesar to the position of imperial power, and how David, his brother, became caesar.
2.27.1 (627–8)	ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ μέγας βασιλεὺς θελήσας ἀναγορευσαὶ Ἡράκλειον τὸν τούτου υἱὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀξίας τοῦ καίσαρος εἰς τὸ σχῆμα τῆς βασιλείας, ἐποίησεν οὕτως.	The sovereign and senior emperor, wishing to promote his son Herakleios from the rank of caesar to the position of imperial power, did the following.
2.37.14 (634)	Χρὴ εἰδέναι, ὅπως ἐδέξατο Μιχαὴλ ὁ βασιλεὺς Σκλάβους τοὺς ἀτακτήσαντας ἐν χώρᾳ τῆ Σουβδελιτία καὶ ἀνελθόντας εἰς τὰ ὄρη καὶ πάλιν καταφυγόντας τῆ αὐτοκρατορικῆ καὶ ὑψηλῆ βασιλείᾳ.	It should be known how the emperor Michael (III) received the Slavs who had revolted in the town of Soubdelitia and gone up into the mountains and later sought refuge with the sovereign and mighty imperial power.
2.43.13 (650)	πολυχρόνιον ποιήσει ὁ Θεὸς τὴν ἁγίαν βασιλείαν σᾶς εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη.	May God make your holy reign long-lasting for many years!
2.43.3–4 (651)	αὕξει ἡ βασιλεία τῶν Ῥωμαίων.	May the imperial power of the Romans increase!
2.43.11 (651)	πολυχρόνιον ποιήσει ὁ Θεὸς τὴν ἁγίαν βασιλείαν σᾶς εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη.	May God make your holy reign long-lasting for many years!
2.47.15 (680)	ὁ ἐνδοξότατος ὁ δεῖνα ὁ πρίγκιψ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης σὺν τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ παντὸς τοῦ ὑποκειμένου αὐτῷ λαοῦ ἐξαποστέλλουσιν τὴν βασιλείαν σου πιστωτάτην δούλωσιν.	The highly esteemed so-and-so, prince of Old Rome, with the archons and all the people subject to him, send your imperial power their most loyal homage.
2.47.8–9 (684)	Ὁ τῶν ἐρχομένων πρεσβέων ἀπὸ μεγιστάνου Ἀμηρᾶ ἢ Αἰγύπτου ἢ Περσίας ἢ τοῦ Χοροσάν, ὑποταγέντες δηλονότι τῇ βασιλείᾳ Ῥωμαίων καὶ πάκτα ἀποστέλλοντες, πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα χαιρετισμός.	The greeting to the emperor of the ambassadors coming from a chief emir, whether of Egypt or Persia or Chorosan, that is to say, [those] subject to the imperial power of the Romans and sending tribute.

TABLE 10.6 The phrases τὸ κράτος and τὸ κράτος ἡμῶν in *De Cerimoniis* (cont.)

Chapter	Greek text	Translation (Moffatt & Tall 2012)
2.47.12–14 (684)	καλὴν προστασίαν καὶ σκέπην καὶ ἀντίληψιν εὖρομεν τὴν σὴν ὑψηλὴν καὶ μεγάλην βασιλείαν. χαρισθεὶς ἡμῖν ἐν πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ἢ σὴ δεσποτεία καὶ βασιλεία, ὅτι ἡμεῖς λαὸς σου καὶ δούλοι πιστότατοι τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας ὑμῶν.	We find in your sublime and great imperial power noble protection and shelter and support. May your rule and imperial power be vouchsafed us for many years for we are your people and most loyal servants of your sovereign power.
2.47.7–8 (685)	Ὁ τῶν ἐρχομένων πρεσβέων ἀπὸ μεγιστάνου Ἀμηρᾶ ἢ Αἰγύπτου ἢ Περσίας ἢ τοῦ Χοροσάν, δηλονότι μὴ ὄντος ὑποτεταγμένου τῇ βασιλείᾳ Ῥωμαίων	The greeting to the emperor of the ambassadors coming from a chief emir, whether of Egypt or Persia or Chorosan, that is to say, when he is not subject to the imperial power of the Romans.
2.52.9 (725) (Philotheos, Kletorogion)	ταῦτα δὲ πάντα φυλάττεσθαι, τηρεῖσθαι τε καὶ πράττεσθαι ἀπαρασάλευτα καὶ διαμένειν βέβαια, καθὼς ἢ εὐσεβῆς καὶ ἔνθεος βασιλεία ἡμῶν ἐξέθετο	All these things should be observed and heeded and done unerringly and remain in force just as our pious and divinely-inspired imperial power set it out.

TABLE 10.7 The phrases ἡ βασιλεία and ἡ βασιλεία ἡμῶν in *De Cerimoniis*

Chapter	Greek text	Translation (Moffatt & Tall 2012)
1.0.2 (5)	ἐν τάξει καὶ κόσμῳ αἱ τοῦ κράτους ἡνίαὶ διεξάγοντο	So that the reins of power will be managed with order and beauty.
1.0.6 (5)	ὑφ' ὧν τοῦ βασιλείου κράτους ρυθμῶ καὶ τάξει φερομένου	Through this the imperial power will have measure and order
1.2.19 (37)	Αὐτὸς τὸ κράτος ὑμῶν, δεσπότης, εἰς μῆκος χρόνων φυλάξει εἰς ἀνέγερσιν Ῥωμαίων.	May he guard your power, rulers, for a long time, to the exaltation of the Romans!
1.3.19 (41)	ἀλλ' ὁ τὸν κόσμον φωτίσας τῇ αὐτοῦ ἐπιφανείᾳ ὑψώσει καὶ μεγαλύνει τὸ κράτος τῆς ὑμῶν βασιλείας εἰς εὐτυχίαν καὶ δόξαν Ῥωμαίων.	May he who has illuminated the world by his epiphany raise up and increase the power of your reign for the good fortune and glory of the Romans!

TABLE 10.7 The phrases ἡ βασιλεία and ἡ βασιλεία ἡμῶν in *De Cerimoniis* (cont.)

Chapter	Greek text	Translation (Moffatt & Tall 2012)
1.3.16 (42)	ἀλλ' ὁ ταῦτα τελέσας Χριστὸς φιλανθρωπία τὸ ὑμέτερον βασιλείον κράτος κατὰ σειρὰν ἀδιάδοχον κελεύει εὐτυχεῖν Ῥωμαίοις καὶ βασιλεύειν.	May Christ who has accomplished this in his love for mankind command that your imperial power prosper and rule over the Romans like an unbroken chain.
1.4.7–8 (45)	τελεῖται παραδόξως, μεγαλύνεται τὸ κράτος ὑμῶν, δεσπότηι, εἰς δόξαν, εἰς καύχησιν, εἰς ἀνέγερσιν τῶν Ῥωμαίων.	May your power be increased, emperors, to the glory, renown, and exaltation of the Romans.
1.4.19 (46)	ὁ καὶ φυλάξει τὸ κράτος τῆς βασιλείας εἰς δόξαν, εἰς καύχημα, εἰς ἀνέγερσιν Ῥωμαίων.	May he guard the power of the reign to the glory, renown and exaltation of Romans.
1.6.14 (52)	καὶ εἰρήνην χαρίζεται πάσῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ, καὶ τὸ βασιλευόν κράτος ἀστέρος ἀνατολῆ τοῦ ἀδύτου νεουργεῖ καὶ μεγαλύνει, ὡς λαμπρὸς ἥλιος.	The rising of a star which never sets acts anew and increases the imperial power, like a resplendent sun.
1.7.2 (54)	καὶ γεραίρουσι τὸ κράτος ὑμῶν, δεσπότηι, εἰς δόξαν, εἰς καύχημα, εἰς ἀνύψωσιν Ῥωμαίων.	And celebrate your power, rulers, to the glory, renown and exaltation of the Romans.
1.43.20 (223)	τὸ κράτος ὑμῶν φυλάξει εἰς πλήθη χρόνων ἐν τῇ πορφύρᾳ.	May he guard your power for a great number of years in the purple.
1.65.2 (294)	Ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ σου σήμερον παραθέ- μενος τὸ κράτος, Θεὸς σε ἐπεκύρωσεν αὐτοκράτορα δεσπότην	Having placed the power in your hands today, God has confirmed you as sovereign ruler.
1.69.12 (316)	Τὸ θεοπρόβλητον κράτος τῆς ὑμετέρας δυάδος, ὁ δεῖνα αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ ὁ δεῖνα ἡ δόξα τῆς πορφύρας, ἐκλάμψατε	Let the divinely appointed power of your joint rule, so-and-so sovereign and so-and-so the glory of the purple, shine forth.
1.69.15 (316)	Ἀνάτειλον τὸ ὀρθόδοξον κράτος	Rise up, the orthodox power!
1.69.18 (323)	Εἰς δικαίωμα πρῶτον τὸ φιλάγαθον, κράτος ὑμῶν, δεσπότηι.	Your power that loves good puts righteousness first, rulers.
1.69.23 (325–6)	τοῦ κόσμου γὰρ εὐσεβεῖα δεσπόζετε ὅλως, εἰς φιλάγαθον κράτος ὑμῶν, δεσπότηι.	You rule the world entirely with piety, in your benevolent power.
1.69.9 (326)	Τὸ ὑμέτερον κράτος, φιλόχριστοι, θεοπρόβλητοι εὐεργέται, ἐκ Θεοῦ καταλάμπεται ἀληθῶς	Your power, Christ-loving, divinely appointed benefactors, in truth is illuminated by God.
1.71.16 (359)	Κύριε, σῶσον τὸ ὀρθόδοξον κράτος·	Lord, save the orthodox power!
1.73.20 (368)	Κύριε, σῶσον ὀρθόδοξον κράτος	Lord, save the orthodox power!

PART 4

Networks



Liber Methodius between the Byzantium and the West: Traces of the Oldest Slavonic Legal Collection in Medieval Croatia

Marko Petrak

1 Introduction

In one passage of the so-called *Croatian Chronicle* (*Hrvatska kronika*) or *The Chronicle of the Kings of Croatia and Dalmatia* (*Ljetopis kraljeva Hrvatske i Dalmacije*), which is today largely attributed to an anonymous priest who lived somewhere near Split in the second half of the 14th or the first half of the 15th century, there is a mention of certain legal books under the mysterious name *Metodios* that contain laws instituted by a wise and good king: ... *knjige ke pri Hrvatih ostaše i pri njih se nahode, a zovu se Metodios* (“... books which did remain amongst Croats and can be found thither, and are called *Methodios*”).

Hrvatska kronika is, in fact, the Croatian redaction of *The Chronicle of the Presbyter Diocleas* – *CPD* (*Ljetopis Popa Dukljanina*), a famous medieval chronicle about the South Slavic rulers written in Latin under the title *Regnum Sclavorum* and the quoted passage is the Croatian paraphrase of the correspondent Latin text contained in it.¹ The *CPD* was probably written in Dioclea (Duklja) by Gregorius (Grgur), bishop of the south Adriatic city of Antivari (Bar) in the second half of the 12th century.² The previously mentioned Latin text reads as follows: *Multas leges et bonos mores instituit, quos qui velit agnoscere, librum Sclavorum qui dicitur Methodius legat; ibi reperiet qualia bona instituit rex benignissimus*. (“He instituted many good laws and customs, and if anyone wishes to know about these, let him read the Slavonic book, called the

1 *CPD*, 9 (p. 56); on the mentioned redaction, its features and its relationship towards *CPD*, see Ančić 1990, with further references to the older relevant literature.

2 The most important modern editions of the *CPD* are: Šišić 1928; Mošin 1950; Mijušković 1967; Banjević *et al.* 2003; Kunčer 2009. On the dating, authorship and the content of the *CPD*, including the *vexata quaestio* of the relation between facts and fiction in that work: Steindorff 1985; Peričić 1991; Margetić 1998; Stephenson 2000: 118–21. The new hypotheses related to the authorship and authenticity of the work are presented by Živković 2009 and Bujan 2008, but up to this day they have not been widely accepted; see the critical remarks by Radoman 2013.

Methodius. There he will learn what good institutions were set up by this most benign king").³

Taking the quoted text as the starting point, the purpose of this chapter is to determine whether the *liber Methodius*, mentioned in chapter 9 of the *CPD*, and the *Nomocanon of Saint Methodius*, as the first adaptation and translation of the Byzantine canon and civil law collections in the Slavonic language, are one and the same book. This question is not without relevance for the legal history of the medieval lands described there by the *Presbyter Diocleas*: a positive answer to the question above is an indication that one of the most important early contacts of the medieval Croats with the Roman legal tradition was a direct consequence of the missionary work of the Byzantine 'Apostles to the Slavs'. Moreover, special attention will be dedicated to the problem of mutual relations between this oldest Slavonic adaptation of the Byzantine legal culture and the Western normative models in medieval Croatia as a Byzantine-Carolingian contact zone.

2 *Liber Sclavorum qui dicitur Methodius in the CPD*

Before delving into a more detailed analysis of what the expression *liber Methodius* actually means, we ought to describe the context of chapter 9 of the *CPD*, where the expression appears. In the quoted part, the *Presbyter Diocleas* gives an account of the assembly (*synodus*) of the all people of the Slavic kingdom convocated by king Svetopelek in *planitie Dalmae*, in the valley of Dalma located between the *Inferior Dalmatia* and the *Superior Dalmatia*. The assembly discussed legal and institutional questions of the Church (*de lege divina ac de statu ecclesiae*), as well as legal and institutional questions of the State (*de potestate regis, de ducibus, et comitibus, et centurionibus, et de statu regis*). On the basis of the ancient privileges (*antiqua privilegia*), sent by the pope and by the Byzantine emperor (*missa ab Apostolico et ab Imperatore*). The kingdom's territory was structured in two main parts: 1. *Maritima* which consisted of White Croatia (*Croatia Alba*, also called *Inferior Dalmatia*) and Red Croatia (*Croatia Rubea*, also called *Superior Dalmatia*); and 2. *Transmontana*, which consisted of Bosnia and Rascia. At the end of the passage, the *Presbyter Diocleas* made his final laudative observations related to these legislative

³ *CPD*, 9 (p. 56).

events, stressing that many good laws and customs were then instituted, gathered in the Slavonic book called the *Methodius*.⁴

What is the nature of these “books which did remain amongst Croats and can be found thither, and are called *Metodios*”, or “*liber Sclavorum qui dicitur Methodius*”? A detailed account of various older opinions on that issue was given by Ferdo Šišić in his edition of the *CPD*, thus the paper will refrain from mentioning them individually here.⁵ The opinion of Marko Kostrenčić, Croatian legal historian, was especially singled out by Šišić, as one which presents: “a totally new and independent standpoint”⁶ on the subject. Throughout his scholarly career, Kostrenčić had claimed that *liber Methodius* should be identified with the *Nomocanon of St Methodius*.⁷ He also based this conclusion on the fact that the *Vita Methodii*, one of the so-called Pannonian legends written in Slavonic, states that St Methodius, beside the translation of the Holy Scripture done with the assistance of his two pupils, additionally translated the *Nomocanon* from Greek into the Slavonic language.⁸

Despite contrary opinions,⁹ successfully refuted after further debate,¹⁰ Kostrenčić’s opinion is today widely accepted: “There is a general agreement that the book here referred to as ‘Methodius’ must be the *Nomokanon* of Methodios”.¹¹ In the view of the present author, the very text of the *CPD* not only mentions the *liber Methodius*, but also contains some important indications which further strenghten the argument that the *liber Methodius* was really the *Nomocanon*, and that its author was really St Methodius. Before proceeding any further, a remark must be made regarding the very title of the book, mentioned by the *Presbyter Diocleas: liber Methodius*. During the same medieval period, there was another popular book also entitled *liber Methodius*, which circulated around the Mediterranean and European world in numerous Greek, Latin and Slavonic manuscripts: the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*, originally written in north Syria at the end of the 7th century. Thus, one must

4 Steindorff 1985; Peričić 1991: 240–51; M. Eggers 1995: 198–211; Margetić 1998; Stephenson 2000: 118–21 (different recent interpretations of the *Presbyter’s* account of the *synodus in planitie Dalmae* and the mentioned divisions of the Svetopelek’s kingdom).

5 Šišić 1928: 126–36.

6 Šišić 1928: 129.

7 He presented his standpoint on the true identity of *liber Methodius* already in 1916 in his *Review* of the Vol. 5 of *opus magnum* of Vladimir Mažuranić, *Prinosi za hrvatski pravno-povijestni rječnik*; Kostrenčić 1916: 374; see also Kostrenčić 1923: 131, 294–96; 1956: 134–35.

8 Kostrenčić 1923: 294–96; cf. *Vita Methodii*, 15,5 (p. 164).

9 Steindorff 1986.

10 See especially Margetić 2000c.

11 Gallagher 2002c: 111. See Pejčev 1991; Budak 1994: 131–33; Vasil 1996: 75, n.184; Margetić 2000c.

conclude that the general features of 'our' *liber Methodius* had to be clearly specified and well known among educated persons of that time in order to precisely distinguish it from the apocalyptic writing with the same name.¹²

Certain statements regarding the specific characteristics of the book are made by the *Presbyter* himself: it has already been pointed out that the book called *Methodius* is the 'Slavonic one' (*liber Sclavorum*) and the legal one, i.e. that its contents are "the laws and customs" (*leges et boni mores*). In the *Presbyter's* text, there are certain indications that the *liber Methodius* had a nomocanonical structure. As we have seen, the *synodus in planitie Dalmae* discussed legal and institutional questions of the Church (*de lege divina ac de statu ecclesiae*) as well as those of the State (*de potestate regis, de ducibus, et comitibus, et centurionibus, et de statu regis*). In the same context, ancient privileges (*antiqua privilegia*), sent by the Pope and by the Byzantine emperor (*missa ab Apostolico et ab Imperatore*), were mentioned. According to the *Presbyter*, the norms regarding these ecclesiastical and statal issues were all contained in *liber Methodius*.¹³ This consequent bipartition (Church/State, Pope/Emperor) provides some indication that the *liber Methodius* was by its legal nature the *Nomocanon* made of ecclesiastical canons (*κανόνες*) as well as of the laws of the state (*νόμοι*).

Moreover, apart from the the title of the book, *liber Methodius*, which itself implies a certain reference to St Methodius, is there any other indication in the text of the *CPD* which would place this book within a Cyrillo-Methodian context? At the very beginning of the same passage, which contains the description of the *synodus in planitie Dalmae* and mentions the *liber Methodius*, the *Presbyter Diocleas* gives an account of how Constantine, the most holy man (*Constantinus vir sanctissimus*), who was given the name Cyril by pope Stephen upon becoming a monk (*cui nomen postea Kyrillus a papa Stephano impositum est, quando consecravit eum monacum*), baptized the king Svetopelek and his whole kingdom. The *Presbyter* also points out that Constantine composed the Slavonic alphabet (*litteram lingua sclavonica componens*), translated the Holy Scripture from Greek into the Slavonic language (*commutavit evangelium Christi, atque psalterium, et omnes divinos libros Veteris, et Novi testamenti de Graeca littera in Sclavonicam*) and introduced the Slavonic liturgy according to the Greek rite (*missam eis ordinans more Graecorum*). Given the *Presbyter's* account of St Cyril and his Christianization of the Slavic kingdom, which is organically followed by a description of the *synodus in planitie Dalmae*, it seems

12 On the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* see e.g. Garstad 2012.

13 *CPD*, 9 (p. 50–52); cf. Kostrenčić 1923: 131.

a natural conclusion that the *liber Methodius* was also part of the same evangelizing context.¹⁴

3 The Structure of the *Nomocanon* of Saint Methodius

As stated earlier, a broad consensus has been reached regarding the positive identification of the *liber Methodius* with the *Nomocanon* of St Methodius. There are also other valuable pieces of evidence in the text of the *CPD* which serve to confirm those mentioned thus far. The next important question to be answered is: what precisely was the structure of this Slavonic legal collection? Kostrenčić claimed that the *Nomocanon* of St Methodius was the Slavonic translation, made between 865 and 885, of the "... *Nomocanon*, composed by John Scholastikos, which was at that time the best known in Byzantium".¹⁵ This view was based on the observation of the famous scholar of Byzantine law, K.E. Zachariae von Lingenthal, that the oldest preserved Byzantine *Nomocanon* was made at the end of the 6th century of two of Scholastikos' legal collections: 1. *Synagoge L titulorum* (Συναγωγὴ κανόνων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν εἰς ἓν τίτλους διηρημένη) (a collection of Apostolic canons and the canons of the councils of Nicea, Ankyra, Neokaisareia, Serdica, Gangra, Antioch, Laodikeia of Phrygia, Constantinople, Ephesus and Chalcedon, Sardica as well as the canonical epistles of St Basil the Great) as its canon law part (κανόνες) and 2. *Collectio LXXXVII capitulorum* (a collection of twelve of Justinian's *Novels* related to ecclesiastical matters), as its civil law part (νόμοι).¹⁶ With this in mind, Kostrenčić concluded that St Methodius translated both parts of the described Byzantine *Nomocanon*, the canon and the civil ones, in order to create the first *Nomocanon* in the Slavonic language.¹⁷

As far as the most recent research is concerned, it would seem that Kostrenčić was correct in concluding that the *Nomocanon of St Methodius* was

14 *CPD* 9 (p. 48–50); on the Cyrillo-Methodian context of the ch. 9 of the *CPD*, including a discussion on possible older literary sources which were used by the *Presbyter* in the composition of that chapter (*Vita Constantini, Vita Methodii, Vita Clementis Bulgarici, Legenda Italica, Legenda Moravica, Legenda Christiani*), see Margetić 1998: 25–27; M. Eggers 1995: 194–95; Steindorff 1986: 157–72; Margetić 2000c: 1–8; Graciotti 1967: 67–79; Papageorgiou 2015: 718–27.

15 Kostrenčić 1923: 131.

16 Kostrenčić 1916: 374 quoted Zachariae von Lingenthal 1892: 7–8; on the *Synagoge L titulorum* and *Collectio LXXXVII capitulorum* of John Scholastikos, see Benešević 1937; Van der Wal & Lokin 1985: 51–54, 60–62; Gallagher 2002b: 18–26; Troianos 2012: 118–20, 133–34; 2015: 115–17, 120–21.

17 Kostrenčić 1916: 374.

based on Scholastikos' legal collection. However, two qualifications to this statement must be made here. Firstly, the 'Nomocanon of John Scholastikos', despite the fact that it has traditionally borne that title,¹⁸ has never existed as such. Notwithstanding the fact that Scholastikos composed the *Synagoge L titularum* as well as the *Collectio LXXXVII capitulorum*, he did not compile himself a *Nomocanon* made of these two collections. According to today's opinion of Byzantine legal scholars, this *Nomocanon* "was put together by an unknown compiler probably in Antioch",¹⁹ at the time when John Scholastikos was the patriarch of Constantinople (565–577) or after his death, and the name that prevailed for this compilation is *Nomocanon L titularum*.²⁰

Secondly, in the only two preserved manuscripts which include the Slavonic abbreviated adaptation and translation of the *Synagoge L titularum*, both of Russian provenance, *Kormčaja of Ustyug* (13th c.) and *Kormčaja of Ioasaph* (16th c.), there is no trace of the *Collectio LXXXVII capitulorum*. Moreover, both manuscripts also contain norms of the *Zakon Sudnyj Ljudem*: the Slavonic abbreviated adaptation and translation of the *Ecloga* (Ἐκλογὴ τῶν νόμων), the most important Byzantine civil law collection after Justinian, published by the emperors Leo III the Isaurian and his son Constantine V, most probably in the year 741. With this and the prevailing scholarly opinion that both these Slavonic legal collections were most probably prepared in the context of the Cyrillo-Methodian missions in mind, one should conclude that the *Nomocanon of St Methodius* was definitely not the Slavonic version of the so-called "Nomocanon of John Scholastikos" (i.e. *Nomocanon L titularum*). The structure of the *Nomocanon of St Methodius* is his original creation, made in the third quarter of the 9th century, which consisted of: certain translated norms of the *Synagoge L titularum* as its canon law part (κανόνες), as well as certain translated norms of the *Ecloga* as its civil law part (νόμοι).²¹

18 Cf. already Voellus & Justellus 1661: 603.

19 Troianos 2012: 137.

20 On the *Nomocanon L titularum* see Benešević 1937: 292–321; Van der Wal & Lokin 1985: 67–68; Troianos 2012: 137–38; 2015: 124–25.

21 Vašica 1951; 1955; Grivec 1957; Troicki 1963; Gallagher 2002c: 107; Maksimovich 2007a: 9–10; Minale 2012b: 55, n.74 (the described structure of the *Nomocanon of St Methodius*). Schmid 1922; Vašica 1957; 1958; 1961; Troicki 1958; 1961; Tichomirov & Milov 1961a; 1961b; Žužek 1967; Vašica & Haderka 1971; Dewey & Kleimola 1977; Papastathis 1978; Maksimovich 1998: 477–508; 2007c; Ščapov & Burgmann 2011; Biliarsky & Tsibranska-Kostova 2013/14 (the Slavonic versions of the *Synagoge L titularum* and *Ecloga* as the *Zakon Sudnyj Ljudem* in the context of Cyrillo-Methodian missions).

4 The “real presence” of the *Nomocanon of St Methodius* in Medieval Croatia

Now that the structure of the *Nomocanon of St Methodius* has been reconstructed as a compilation which contained the Slavonic translation of norms of the Byzantine legal collections the *Synagoge L titulorum* and the *Ecloga*, we should focus on the issue of the ‘real presence’ of this *Nomocanon* in the Croatian medieval lands described by the *Presbyter Diocleas*, as the Byzantine-Carolingian contact zone. On the basis of chapter 9 of the *CPD*, Kostrenčić concluded that the *Nomocanon of St Methodius* must have been known in all the Croatian lands described by the *Presbyter Diocleas*, including the *Croatia Rubea*, whose territory was mostly identical to that of medieval Dioclea.²²

More recent authors, such as legal historian Lujo Margetić, were more skeptical about the usefulness of the *CPD* for reconstructing real historical events, especially given the already mentioned vexed relation between facts and fiction in its text. For example, in his important article on the *liber Methodius* and the question of which sources were used in the composition of the ninth chapter of the *CPD*, he claims that the *Presbyter Diocleas*, following the *Vita Methodii*, really used the title *liber Methodius* as the designation for the *Nomocanon of St Methodius*. However, according to Margetić, the text of the *Presbyter Diocleas* can not be used as a proof that such a *Nomocanon* historically existed and was used in Croatian medieval lands.²³ With this as a starting point, the best way to reaffirm the conclusions of Kostrenčić on the existence of the *Nomocanon of St Methodius* in the mentioned Croatian medieval lands is to try to discover other possible traces of its ‘real presence’ in these territories as a relevant integral part of Cyrillo-Methodian missionary activity.²⁴

Some twenty years ago, Neven Budak made an important remark that there was a possibility of a certain relation between the *liber Methodius* as the *Nomocanon of St Methodius* in *CPD* and the notion of *Methodii doctrina* in the Letter of pope John X to the metropolitan archbishop of Split and his suffragan bishops in Dalmatia, written 925 in the context of the well-known Church Synod of Split.²⁵ Pope John X complained that *Methodii doctrina* is widespread in Dalmatia, demanding that the tendency be put to an end,

22 Kostrenčić 1923: 131.

23 Margetić 2000c; cf. also Margetić 1998; on the question of the relation between facts and fiction in *CPD* cf. also bibliography mentioned above in n.2.

24 Petrović 1988; Hercigonja 1999 (the importance of the Cyrillo-Methodian missionary work for medieval Croats).

25 Budak 1994: 131–33. On the Church Synod of Split see Matanić 1982.

because it neglected the “doctrine of the Gospel, volumes of the canons and the apostolic precepts” (... *doctrinam Evangelii atque canonum volumina apostolicaque etiam precepta praetermittentes, ad Methodii doctrinam confugiant, quem in nullo volumine inter sacros auctores comperimus* ...).²⁶ According to the prevailing opinion of Croatian authors, the pejorative notion of *Methodii doctrina* should be interpreted liturgically, i.e. as the celebration of the rituals in the Slavonic language.²⁷ However, the pope was pointing out the neglect of *canonum volumina*, which was undoubtedly a reference to the norms of the Canon law. Using Budak’s remark on a possible relation of the *liber Methodius* and the *Methodii doctrina* as a foundation, it is logical to presume that the notion of *Methodii doctrina* is not so narrow as simply the question of liturgical language, but also included issues regarding the canon law content of the *Nomocanon of St Methodius*. Some of the crucial neuralgic canonical issues of that time and context, apart from the Slavonic language, also discussed and defined by the norms of the mentioned Synod of Split from 925, such as the (il)licitness of clerical marriage or the autonomy of the local church, were regulated in the Latin Church differently than in the *Nomocanon of St Methodius*.²⁸

This topic obviously deserves a more detailed study, but it is hard to avoid concluding that the necessity of the imposition of the ‘Latin matrix’ may indicate *a contrario* the ‘real presence’ of the *Nomocanon of St Methodius*, especially its canon law part, as the adaptation and translation of Scholastikos’ *Synagoge L titulorum*, in the territories of Dalmatia, or the *Presbyter’s Croatia Alba et Croatia Rubea*, in the 10th century within the ecclesiastical structures of the ‘Slavonic matrix’. Moreover, a recent analysis presented by Vadim Prozorov demonstrated that the canons of the Church Synod of Split “can be easily placed in the context of the Church law, Carolingian and post – Carolingian ecclesiastical legal material, almost contemporary to the synods of Split”,²⁹ which opens new research possibilities of opposition between Latin-Carolingian and Byzantine-Slavonic normative structures in medieval Dalmatia.

Another territory which became an integral part of the Croatian medieval context was Lower Pannonia (*Pannonia Inferior*). In chapter 30 of the *DAI* it was pointed out that “from the Croats who came to Dalmatia a part split off and possessed themselves of Illyricum and Pannonia”.³⁰ After the

26 The Latin text of the Papal letter is published in *CD*, 1.22 (p. 28–30).

27 Klaić 1986; Petrović 1988: 31–33; Hercigonja 1999: 378–82; Katičić 1999: 47–340.

28 Troicki 1963: 208–10; Gallagher 2002c: 100–05 (the issues of (il)licitness of clerical marriage and the autonomy of the local church in the *Nomocanon of St Methodius*).

29 Prozorov 2013: 275–87.

30 *DAI*, 30.142–43. Important interpretations of that passage as well as of the origins and development of the state of Lower Pannonia in the Croatian medieval context were provided by Margetić 1995; 2000b: 273–79; Budak 1994: 100–08; Gračanin 2008.

diocesis Pannonica had been restored around 870 and after Methodius had been appointed as its archbishop, Lower Pannonia also became part of this particular Church.³¹ Are there any indications that the *Nomocanon of St Methodius* was also used in this Pannonian territory? There are some traces regarding the *Zakon Sudnyj Ljudem* as the civil law part of the *Nomocanon*. The question of the origins of the *Zakon Sudnyj Ljudem* as the Slavonic abbreviated adaptation and translation of the Byzantine *Ecloga* is notoriously complex and there are several competing theories,³² but the prevailing opinion points towards Cyrillo-Methodian origins.³³ Regarding the Lower Pannonian context, there are two important aspects to be mentioned. Firstly, some scholars especially paid attention to the fact that mutilation punishments in the *Ecloga*, such as the amputation of the nose (ρινκοκοπία), were replaced by ecclesiastical penances in the *Zakon Sudnyj Ljudem*. The prevailing opinion is that this modification was made under the influence of the penitential practice of the Latin Church at a certain location where Byzantine missions reached their westernmost point, i.e. somewhere in Pannonian-Moravian territory.³⁴ According to Schmid, the most likely location for such a normative adaptation of the Byzantine *Ecloga* was Lower Pannonia itself, governed by Slavic rulers under the Carolingian supreme political authority, to where Methodius came from Rome around the year 870, after his episcopal consecration.³⁵

Secondly, certain linguistical evidence seems to also corroborate the hypothesis that the *Zakon Sudnyj Ljudem* was present in the Lower Pannonian context. Apart from a number of 'Bohemisms' discovered in the text of the *Zakon Sudnyj Ljudem*, particularly by Josef Vašica,³⁶ some 'Croatisms', such as the verb *priložiti se*, used in the passage dealing with adultery, were also detected. Some American and German historians, adherents of the theory that the Great Moravia was indeed located in Pannonia or Slavonia (Boba, M. Eggers), were inclined to present these 'Croatisms' as an indication of the Pannonian origins of that legal collection.³⁷ We do not want to venture here into the *vexata quaestio* of the origins, but this paper shall rather be limited to the conclusion that there are some indications of the 'real presence' of the *Zakon Sudnyj*

31 Dvornik 1956: 125; Obolensky 1971: 144; Boba 1971; M. Eggers 1996: 45–55 (the ecclesiastical authority of Methodius over this territory).

32 Overviews of the various theories (Moravian, Bulgarian, Macedonian, Pannonian, Russian) on the origins of the *Zakon Sudnyj Ljudem* are given by Dewey & Kleimola 1977: v–xii; Minale 2012b: 54–57; Biliarsky & Tsibranska-Kostova 2013/14: 52–62.

33 On the Cyrillo-Methodian origins of the *Zakon Sudnyj Ljudem* see supra, with the bibliography mentioned in n.21.

34 Cf. already Suvorov 1888: 7–12; Schmid 1953; Gallagher 2002c: 106–07; Maksimovich 2007b.

35 Schmid 1953: 400–03.

36 Vašica 1957; 1958; 1961.

37 Boba 1971: 150–52; M. Eggers 1996: 79–82.

Ljudem as the civil law part of *Nomocanon of St Methodius* in the Croatian medieval context.

The third component of the Slavonic *Methodiana Iuridica*,³⁸ the so-called *Anonymous Homily*, part of the Glagolitic codex *Glagolita Clozianus* from the 11th century, had also certain elements which pertain to the Croatian medieval context. The *Homily*, attributed to St Methodius on the basis of linguistic and substantial affinity with both components of his *Nomocanon*, and especially with the *Zakon Sudnyj Ljudem*, can be described as an exhortation addressed to the local judges in order to observe justice, impartiality and the values of Christian life, such as the indissolubility of marriage.³⁹ The *Glagolita Clozianus*, named after the previous owner Baron Cloz (†1816), is now treasured in the *Biblioteca Comunale* in Trent,⁴⁰ but until 1486 it was kept in the Croatian island of Krk (Veglia) under the ownership of the House of Frankopan, Counts of Krk, and one of the leading Croatian aristocratic families of the time.⁴¹ The prevailing scholarly opinion is that the *Glagolita Clozianus*, including the *Homily* of St Methodius, was copied somewhere in Croatian territory from the original written in Macedonia, justifying it, *exempli gratia*, with the change of the vowel ь to ъ behind the palatals č, ž, št and žd, a trait commonly found in other Croatian Glagolitic medieval manuscripts.⁴² Apart from linguistic arguments, iconographic research of the *Glagolita Clozianus*, conducted by the art historian Branko Fučić, discovered that the manuscript contains elements of south Italian, Beneventan illumination, also typical of Dalmatian Latin manuscripts of the time,⁴³ which uncovers another research field related to the interweaving of Eastern and Western influences. All of these factors are clear evidence that the *Homily* of St Methodius as the third part of the *Methodiana Iuridica* was present in medieval Croatia for some four hundred years.

38 Biliarsky & Tsibranska-Kostova 2013/14: 45.

39 Vaillant 1947; Vašica 1951; 1955; 1956; Grivec 1953; Gallagher 2002c: 107–09; *Papastathis* 1987; 1992; Biliarsky & Tsibranska-Kostova 2013/14: 46–47 (the attribution of this homily to St Methodius and its content).

40 *Biblioteca Comunale di Trento*, MS 2476.

41 Hercigonja 1999: 387.

42 Žagar 2013: 246–47, with the references to the relevant authors and works (Vajs, Dostál, Picchio, Hercigonja, Katičić, Nazor).

43 Fučić 1997: 100–03.

5 Conclusion

The starting point of the chapter was to answer the question of whether the *liber Methodius*, mentioned in chapter 9 of the *CPD*, is the same book as the *Nomocanon of St Methodius*, the first adaptation and translation of the Byzantine canon and civil law collections in the Slavonic language. Also, certain attention was devoted to the relationship between this oldest Slavonic adaptation of the Byzantine legal culture and the Western normative structures in medieval Croatia as a frontier zone of Byzantine and Carolingian empires.

Having analysed the relevant contributions of the last century of scholarship to the topic, it is possible to conclude that there is wide agreement that the *Presbyter Diocleas*, following the *Vita Methodii*, really used the title *liber Methodius* as the designation for the *Nomocanon of St Methodius*. However, there is no consensus in the scholarship regarding the two following questions: what was precisely the structure of the *Nomocanon of St Methodius*, and whether the *CPD* can be used as proof that such a *Nomocanon* historically existed and was used in this border area between East and West.

Regarding the first question, contrary to the opinion of some scholars, it is possible to conclude that the *Nomocanon of St Methodius* was definitely not the Slavonic version of the so-called ‘Nomocanon of John Scholastikos’, i.e. the *Nomocanon L titulorum*. The structure of the *Nomocanon of St Methodius* is his original creation, made in the third quarter of the 9th century, consisting of: certain translated norms of Scholastikos’ *Synagoge L titulorum* as its canon law part (κανόνες), as well as certain translated norms of the *Ecloga*, called *Zakon Sudnyj Ljudem*, as its civil law part (νόμοι). Regarding the second question, this paper has tried to discover, outside the text of *CPD*, other possible traces of the ‘real presence’ of the *Nomocanon of St Methodius* in the Croatian medieval context, thus intending to answer the question of whether the text of the *Presbyter Diocleas* represents a credible description of historical events.

Starting from the possible relation between the *liber Methodius* and the pejorative notion of *Methodii doctrina*, the latter being used in the Letter of pope John X to the Dalmatian Church in the context of the well-known Church Synod of Split from 925, this paper points out the fact that in the papal letter *Methodii doctrina* referred, among other things, to a neglect of *canonum volumina*. Thus, it is logical to presume that the notion of *Methodii doctrina* is not just a question of liturgical language, but also includes issues regarding the content of the *Nomocanon of St Methodius*. On the basis of the fact that some crucial neuralgic canonical issues of that time and context, also discussed and defined by the norms of the Synod of Split, such as the (il)licitness

of clerical marriage or the autonomy of the local church, were regulated in the Latin Church differently than in the *Nomocanon of St Methodius*, it is hard to avoid concluding that the necessity of the imposition of the 'Latin matrix' can indicate *a contrario* the 'real presence' of the *Nomocanon of St Methodius*, especially its canon law part as the adapted translation of *Synagoge L titulorum*, in the territories of Dalmatia in the 10th century within the ecclesiastical structures of the 'Slavonic matrix'. Also, recent scholarship has demonstrated that the canons of the Church Synod of Split can be easily placed in the context of the Carolingian and post-Carolingian canon law material, which uncovers new research possibilities of opposition and interaction between Latin-Carolingian and Byzantine-Slavonic legal models in medieval Dalmatia.

Furthermore, there are some indications that the civil law part of the *Nomocanon of St Methodius*, i.e. the *Zakon Sudnyj Ljudem*, was present in Lower Pannonia under the Carolingian supreme political authority. Starting from the fact that mutilation punishments in the *Ecloga* were most probably replaced by ecclesiastical penances in the *Zakon Sudnyj Ljudem* under the influence of the Latin Church at a certain location where Byzantine missions reached their westernmost point, it is possible to share the opinion of some scholars that the most likely location was Lower Pannonia itself, where Methodius came from Rome around 870. Moreover, some linguistic evidence, such as the detection of some typical 'Croatisms' in the text of that Slavonic *legal* collection, can also corroborate the fact that the *Zakon Sudnyj Ljudem* as the civil law part of the *Nomocanon of St Methodius* was known in the Byzantine-Carolingian contact zone.

All these indications about the 'real presence' of the *Nomocanon of St Methodius* can also signify that the *Presbyter Diocleas*' reference to a *liber Methodius* as the 'legal book' extant, *inter alia*, in the Croatian medieval territories corresponds, to a certain level, to historical reality. If that is true, we may conclude that one of the most important early contacts of the medieval Croats with the Roman legal tradition was a direct consequence of the missionary work of Saints *Cyril* (Constantine) and *Methodius*, Byzantine 'Apostles to the Slavs'. In other words, the memory of the *books which did remain amongst Croats and can be found thither, and are called Metodios* represents a reminiscence of the reception of the oldest Slavonic version of Byzantine legal heritage in medieval Croatia, confronted to and modified by legal culture coming from the Carolingian empire.

The Installation of the Patron Saints of Zadar as a Result of Carolingian Adriatic Politics

Nikola Jakšić

The collection of patron-saints in the city of Zadar (Iader) is relatively well known to researchers of medieval history in the Adriatic area. The two most important saints venerated in this Mediterranean port city¹ are a man and woman who, according to the legend, during their earthly lives, at the beginning of the 4th century, knew each other well. They were both martyred, but in different places. The male saint died first in Aquileia, and the female was martyred later in Sirmium. Those saints, venerated in medieval Jader, and contemporary Zadar, are St Anastasia and St Chrysogonus. Neither St Chrysogonus nor St Anastasia are local martyrs, and their cult in Zadar is attested only from the 9th century, leaving open the question of when and how their cults were established in Zadar. There is a relative consensus amongst the scholarship concerning these questions that the cult of St Chrysogonus came to Zadar from Aquileia, while the cult of St Anastasia arrived from Constantinople, as local tradition records.² This paper will re-examine the validity of these widely-held views.

St Chrysogonus and St Anastasia are the central figures in the Zadar Christian pantheon, but they are not the only members of the pantheon. The priest Zoilus of Aquileia and three sisters who were martyred in Thessalonica – Agape, Chionia and Irene – are also present among the saints venerated in Zadar. This is not an accident, since both the priest Zoilus and the three Salonika martyrs are also central figures in the *passio* of St Chrysogonus, as is St Anastasia herself. For the purpose of this paper it will be necessary to give a brief outline of this well-known hagiographic narrative. Anastasia, daughter of the Senator Praetextatus, and the wife of the prominent pagan Publius, was an ardent Christian, and at the time of the Diocletian's persecutions she was helping Christians in Rome. For that reason, she ended up under house-arrest in her husband's domicile. At that time, Anastasia's teacher and

¹ For medieval Zadar see: Brunelli 1913; Klaić & Petricioli 1976.

² Farlati 1775: 33; Manojlović 1901: 3–12; Brunelli 1913: 105–07; Klaić & Petricioli 1976: 72, 107; Osborne 1999: 379; Preradović 2013: 196–98; Ančić 2014b: 77; Vedriš 2014c.

adviser, Chrysogonus, was also imprisoned. Through the aid of mutual friends, they managed to exchange letters, in which Chrysogonus consoled Anastasia. At about this time, the Emperor Diocletian ordered the execution of the Christians in the Roman prisons, but took Chrysogonus with him to Aquileia. The emperor offered Chrysogonus high office in exchange for renouncing the Christian faith. After the unexpected death of her husband, Publius, Anastasia was set free, departing towards Aquileia, after Chrysogonus. Refusing the emperor's offers, Chrysogonus was put to death at a place called Aquae Gradate. His body was dumped in a neighbouring place, called Ad Saltus, where three Christian sisters, Agape, Chionia and Irene, lived together with the aged priest, Zoilus. Zoilus buried the corpse of Chrysogonus, and died soon after, predicting before his death that his companions would soon be martyred as well. The text, according to the Bollandist hagiography *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina* (BHL), is titled *Passio S. Chrysogoni*, and it is numbered BHL 1795 in this edition.³

The *Passio S. Chrysogoni* is actually part of a larger unit, which consists of several texts linked together by the figure of the Roman noble woman Anastasia. The whole of the cycle is called the *Passio S. Anastasiae* or the *Passio S. Chrysogoni et sociorum*. The cycle includes a *Prologus* (BHL 400), and the *Passio Agapes, Chioniae et Irenes* (BHL 118),⁴ a text in which Anastasia follows the future martyrs to their death in Thessalonica. Next in the cycle is the *Passio S. Theodotae cum tribus filiis* (BHL 8093),⁵ shifting the action to Sirmium in Illyricum, where Diocletian had set out from Macedonia. In this text, Anastasia, together with Theodota and her three sons who had fled from Nicaea, arrive in Sirmium. Theodota is examined before the prefect of Illyricum, and with her children sent back to Nicaea, where they are executed on August 2. What follows is the martyrdom of Anastasia, and this event is narrated in the *Passio S. Anastasiae m. in insula Palmaria* (BHL 401).⁶ Anastasia, refusing to renounce her faith, is imprisoned and deprived of food, and then with the other captives put on board a ship and sent out into open waters. The prisoners are shipwrecked and all miraculously saved by the late Theodota. They disembark on the island of Palmaria and everyone converts to Christianity, after which the prisoners are massacred, while Anastasia is burned alive on December 25. Her mortal remains are picked up by a certain Apollonia, who

3 BHL 1: 270; Petrović 2008.

4 BHL 1: 21.

5 BHL 2: 1173.

6 BHL 2: 66.

builds a little basilica in her garden to honor St Anastasia, where the saint is buried on September 7.⁷

This fantastic hagiographic cycle⁸ is full of events linked with busy journeys, from Rome to Aquileia, to Thessalonica, Sirmium, Nicaea and finally the island or archipelago of Palmaria, which is the only unknown landmark mentioned there. The cycle becomes less convincing towards its end, so it is no surprise that in this part the geographical determinants become unrecognisable. In the first part of the cycle, the *Passio S. Chrysogoni*, there are some toponyms (*Aquae Gradate*, *Ad Saltus*) located in the immediate surroundings of Aquileia, and at least one of them may be identified with certainty. This is *Aquae Gradate*,⁹ located in the modern village of San Canzian d'Isonzo. It owes its medieval and current name to other Aquileian martyrs: Cantius, Cantianus and Cantianilla.¹⁰ The three of them, together with their teacher, Protus of Rome, set out for Aquileia, for the love of Chrysogonus (*et apud Aquilegiensem civitatem, pro amore christianissimi Chrysogono martyris*) as it is said in the text of their passion.¹¹ The identification of this site with the historical *Aquae Gradate* is very reliable, confirmed by archaeological and historical sources, and by toponomastics. In the parish church of this village, the cult of SS Cantius, Cantianus and Cantianilla is preserved, and archaeological excavations revealed an Early Christian phase of the church.¹² In the nearby Chapel of St Protus, where the sarcophagi of St Protus and St Chrysogonus are displayed, an Early Christian archaeological stratum has also been identified.¹³ Both of the sarcophagi can be dated to the 4th century. A fragment of the stela of St Protus, which predates the sarcophagus has been preserved, while the corresponding stela of St Chrysogonus is not preserved.¹⁴ The toponomastic evidence consists of the fact that in the immediate vicinity of the village there is a place named *Grodàte*.¹⁵ In any event, identification of the late antique toponym *Aque*

7 Moretti 2006. This is a new critical edition, based on over 50 manuscripts, and thus far outweighs older editions. Apart from this the author has arrived at the conclusion of an unknown original prototype, the archetype, from which several different groups of manuscripts depart.

8 The first author to study it was Delehaye 1936: 151–71, 221–49.

9 *Tunc iussit eum Diocletianus duci ad locum qui dicitur Aquas Gradatas et ibidem decolari*, Moretti 2008: 120.

10 *Acta SS Cantii, Cantiani, et Cantianille*: 421–22.

11 *Acta SS Cantii, Cantiani, et Cantianille*: 420–22. Otherwise, *BHL* gives their passion as no. 1546.

12 Mirabella Roberti 1967.

13 Borzacconi 2012; Vedriš 2014c.

14 Tavano 1960: 5; Cuscito 1987; Mazzoleni 2008.

15 Puntin 2012.

Gradate with the medieval and current San Canzian d'Isonzo is almost beyond doubt.¹⁶

The first part of the cycle, which relates to the events in Aquileia, is much more convincing and more historically grounded than the later part. This can be seen in the final part of the cycle, the martyrdom of St Anastasia, placed on an unidentified island of Palmaria, despite more reliable historical sources informing us that she was tortured and executed in Sirmium. The account of Anastasia's martyrdom in Sirmium is preserved in the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*,¹⁷ the core of which was formed in northern Italy during Late Antiquity. In this text, Anastasia, the martyr of Sirmium, died on the eighth day before the calends of January, that is, on December 25. Her relics were transferred to Constantinople in the third quarter of the 5th century, as recorded in the chronicle of Theodorus Lector (Anagnostes) who states that the relics were deposited in the church during the reign of Leo I (457–474) and the patriarchate of Gennadius (458–471).¹⁸ However, in this respect it is worth mentioning that the saint's relics in the city were placed in a renovated church which was originally built in the 4th century by Gregory Nazianzen, who dedicated it to the cult of Anastasis (Resurrection).¹⁹ This has of course contributed to the confusion between the cults of St Anastasis and St Anastasia.²⁰ The same confusion exists in Ravenna where the Arian cathedral is dedicated to both St Anastasis and St Anastasia.²¹ The present author recognised an almost identical confusion in the case of the name of the chapel that once stood at the southern gate of Diocletian's Palace in Split.²²

Similarly, St Chrysogonus is brought into the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* with some minor imprecisions from manuscript to manuscript. The calends of December vary from the 10th to the 8th, and sometimes in various manuscripts, instead of Aquileia, Africa is given as the place of the martyrdom. This is clearly the result of scribal error, but, most importantly, the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* tells us that the cults of Anastasia and Chrysogonus were venerated in northern Italy from Late Antiquity. This is directly confirmed at the sites of their veneration. That St Chrysogonus was venerated at the

16 Tavano 1964; Cuscito 1987; Tillatti 2004; Bratož 2005; Vedriš 2014b; 2014c.

17 *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*: 146.

18 Snee 1988: 161.

19 The church at the Portico of Domninus dedicated to the Resurrection of Christ and the martyr Anastasia was covered with a wooden ceiling and renovated in the reign of Basil I, as we are informed by Theophanes Continuatus, Mango 1986: 193.

20 Snee 1988: 162.

21 Mauskopf Deliyani 2010: 174–75.

22 Jakšić 2003: 190.

site of his actual martyrdom, *Ad Aquas Gradatas* in the 4th century, is confirmed among other things by the already mentioned sarcophagus of the saint at this site. In Late Antiquity Chrysogonus' cult is documented also in Ravenna's mosaic cycles, the archiepiscopal chapel of Sant'Andrea built at the time of Archbishop Peter (494–519), and in the famous procession of saints in the Church of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, created in the second half of the 6th century.²³ In this procession, St Chrysogonus is placed directly right of St Protus, with whom he was buried together in the same shrine on the Isonzo river, not far from Aquileia. Thus, it is clear that, when the images of the saints in the Ravenna mosaic were created, great care was taken that two Aquileian martyrs were located next to each other, as was pointed out by G. Cuscito.²⁴ This corresponds to the text in *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* saying: *In Aquileia Cantii, Cantiani, Proti, Grisogoni, Cantianillae*.²⁵ However, St Anastasia is also depicted in the mosaic from Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, above the opposite arches, in company with the other virgin martyrs. In discussing these mosaics, I. Baldini Lippolis argued that the appearance of the Sirmian martyr St Anastasia in the Ravenna *corteo femminile* can be explained by the existence of her cult in Constantinople as early as the 5th century. Unfortunately, she does not notice that St Anastasia was placed next to St Justina of Padua, which suggests that this saintly pair was associated primarily on the principle of geography.²⁶ St Anastasia was not placed in the Ravenna mosaic as a Sirmian martyr, but above all as a companion of the Aquileian martyr St Chrysogonus. Closely connected with Chrysogonus, Anastasia's cult was very early on domesticated in the northern Adriatic, and it is not surprising that she is presented in the company of another martyr from the northern Adriatic area – St Justina of Padua.

Such a claim is directly supported by an important source from the 11th century, an historical testimony which vividly illustrates *furtum sacrum*, the phenomenon of the theft of relics, to which Patrick J. Geary dedicated an important study.²⁷ A certain Gottschalc, a Benedictine monk from the Bavarian monastery of Benediktbauern, arrived in Verona and stayed there with his brothers Benedictines. Gottschalc learned, that in the monastic Church of Santa Maria in Organo, were kept the bodies of various saints, including St Anastasia,

23 Cuscito 1987; Baldini & Lippolis 2012.

24 Cuscito 1987: 257.

25 *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* 1894: 69.

26 Baldini Lippolis 2012: 393. The article does not attach any importance to the fact that SS Chrysogonus and Protus are placed next to each other (391).

27 Geary 2000.

so he decided to commit theft.²⁸ After he was caught red handed and berated by the colleague charged with guarding the relics, Gottschalc justified his act by the relics of the saints being kept here, among whom he specifically mentions the Cantii family from Aquileia and, of course, St Chrysogonus. He even sought that his abbey be given the relics of St Anastasia.²⁹ Here, the Aquileian saints are once again present together. It should be added that the Church of St Maria in Organo was under the direct control of the patriarch of Aquileia,³⁰ and that the tradition of the cult of St Anastasia in Verona goes back to the reign of Theodoric the Ostrogoth at the beginning of the 6th century.³¹ This theft, which ultimately turned out well for Gottschalc as he got hold of the relics and transferred them to the monastery in Benedictbauren, took place in 1053. The reliquary shaped as a bust of St Anastasia is still kept in the monastic church, in a chapel dedicated to this saint, confirming this interesting historical episode.³²

Aquileia, in the first decades of the 11th century underwent one of the most solemn moments in its medieval history. Twenty years before the 'holy theft' in Verona, Poppo (Poppone) the patriarch of Aquileia (1019–1042), dedicated the new monumental patriarchal basilica. It was actually a late antique episcopal complex, which had been renovated. The episcopal complex had been abandoned in the 7th century, when the Aquileian patriarchs under the Lombard kings transferred their seat first of to Cormons, and later to Cividale del Friuli. The restoration of Aquileia as the original seat of the patriarchy was prompted by Charlemagne and his heirs, but it was only in the pontificate of Poppone that this was actually carried out. Poppone first settled, to his own benefit, the status of the neighbouring Church of Grado, which also had a competing claim as the successor of Aquileia. The Church of Grado was reduced to the rank

28 *Chronicon Benedictoburanum* 6 (p. 226): *Eo quoque tempore quidam monachus ex eadem provintia (Bavaria) de quadam abbazia in honore eximii patris Benedicti confessoris Christi constructa atque pago Housi sita, qui scriptor erat optimus, qui etiam brevi tempore suo servitio cepit illi placere, ac super omnes sodales suos diligere cepit, ita sane ut apice abbatiae in Verona civitate illi traderit, quae rusticana lingua sanctae Mariae Organa dicitur. Insuper etiam locum illum nobilitavit, illuc tradito corpore sancti Chrisogoni et sanctae Anastasiae virginis et martiris Christi, necnon et Castorii martiris seu etiam Cantioni, Canti Cantianillae marimum.*

29 *Chronicon Benedictoburanum*, 11 (p. 228): *Haec audiens Gotschalcus valde turbatus est et cecidit ad pedes eius dices: Domine Pater habet hic corpus S. Grisogoni, S. Castorii sanctorumque Cantianorum. Istud corpus S. Anastasiae rogo vos des S. Benedicto, quia dico tibi nichil facies contra voluntatem S. Anastasiae.* Pertz (1851).

30 *Chronicon Benedictoburanum*, 8 (p. 226); Miller 1993: 128.

31 Veneto 1992: 122.

32 <http://www.benediktbeuern.de/hoerpfad/> (last access 02/04/2017).

of an ordinary parish of the Aquileian patriarchy.³³ After that, the patriarch completed the reconstruction of the basilica in Aquileia, which was solemnly consecrated on July 13, 1031.³⁴

The apse semi-dome in the newly-consecrated church is adorned with a theophanic scene of the Madonna and Child in Majesty, framed by a mandorla and symbols of the evangelists. Mary is flanked by figures of saints, three on each side. In the foreground are those saints directly connected with the foundation of the local church: St Mark the Evangelist, St Fortunatus and St Hermagora. On the left side, depicted proportionally smaller compared to the images of the saints, is the patriarch Poppone with a model of the church in his hands, accompanied by the emperor Henry II, who was already dead by this time. On the opposite side the imperial family is shown: emperor Conrad, empress Gisella and their child, the future Henry III.³⁵ There is a second line of eight saints on the apse wall between the windows. Among them are St Chrysogonus and Anastasia, placed at the end of the line, Chrysogonus on the left, Anastasia on the right.³⁶ They are also to be found in another important fresco cycle in Aquileia, in the crypt of the same cathedral, painted in the second half of the 12th century.³⁷ Even a chapel in front of the façade of the patriarchal basilica, called *Chiesa dei pagani*,³⁸ is dedicated to St Anastasia. It is no surprise that one finds St Chrysogonus being present amongst celestial patrons of the Aquileian cathedral, as he is one of the local martyrs. However, it is interesting that St Anastasia is once again found in his company, as she was after all martyred in Sirmium, not Aquileia.

As already stated, the seat of the patriarch of Aquileia under the Lombard kings was moved to Cividale del Friuli, and hence it will be interesting to explore whether any cult of St Chrysogonus and St Anastasia is attested there. Among the Cividale monuments from the Lombard period, the most remarkable is certainly the *Tempietto longobardo*, the oratory of St Maria in Valle in the immediate vicinity of the monastery of St John the Baptist.³⁹ It is known primarily for its stucco decorations depicting six female saints on the interior wall of the western façade. In a tour of this unique early medieval interior, a visitor will hear from the guide a story based on local tradition according to which these saintly images represent St Anastasia, Agape, Chionia and Irene

33 For this problem see Dopsch 1997.

34 Dalla Barba Brusin & Lorenzoni 1968: 35–53; Tavano 1972; Dorigo 1992; Blason Scarel 1997.

35 Valenzano 2005.

36 Dale 1994.

37 Dale 1997: 92.

38 Tavano 1972: 229.

39 L'Orange & Torp 1990; Tavano 1990; Rugo 1990.

(four figures clad in Byzantine court dress), while the other two images, placed next to the central opening are St Chrysogonus and Zoilus. This is an anomalous identification, primarily because among these sculptures done in stuccowork, only the female saints can all be recognised. The question of why the local tradition accepted this unconvincing identification has never been settled. The identification has been rejected in the scholarship with good reason, as there is little information to confirm it. Despite this, the names of the saints are found in historical sources that go back deep into the Middle Ages, at least to the 13th century. The oratory of Santa Maria in Valle suffered major damage in an earthquake 1222–1223, when the vault collapsed, and on that occasion the stuccowork on the side walls was damaged. The building was abandoned until 1242, when the monastery was visited by a certain Franciscan Leonardo of Latisana. In a reliquary under the altar, Leonardo discovered the relics of the six saints mentioned. At that time the renovation of the neighbouring Church of St John the Baptist started, as well as of the monastic oratory.⁴⁰ The document that informs us of these events states that the Lombard queen Piltruda established the monastery of Sta Maria in Valle and dedicated it to the Virgin and the martyrs Anastasia, Agape, Chionia, and Irene as well as Chrysogonus and Zoilus. The relics of the saints are also mentioned – the skull of St Anastasia, and major parts of the bodies of the others. The relics were locked in a wooden silver-mounted chest and placed by the high altar. The queen also put in order the choir and the polychrome floor of the oratory. Over the portal, the document claims, was a lovely vine and over the vine six sculptures representing St Anastasia, Agape, Chionia, Irene, Chrysogonus and Zoilus. The text continues with an event from 1242 when Leonardo of Latisana discovered the wooden reliquary close to the altar, and the relics stored within it. Because of its outstanding documentary value, the text deserves to be quoted in full:

Inventio reliquiarum monasterii Sanctae Mariae in valle, ex ms. eiusdem inventionis actis ab antiquissimo libello descriptis mense decembris anno 1533, iussu Rilintae q.d. Rodulphi de Cusano, abbatis monasterii Sanctae Mariae in Vallis Civitatis Firiulii. Magnifica et potens domina et quamplurimum Deo devota Pertrudis nomine, illustris lombardie regina, ad laudem et honorem et gloriam Dei, beatissime Virginis Mariae, sanctorum virginum et martyrum Anastasiae, Agapae, Cionie et Yrene et sanctorum martyrum Grysogoni et Zoilus, devotum et nobile monasterium dominarum religiosarum ordinis s. Patris Benedicti in pago Foroiuliensi construxit in Civitate Austria, nominas ipsum monasterium Sancta Maria

⁴⁰ Mor 1977.

in Valle. Cupiens igitur ipsum monasterium magnopere decorare et exaltare, ipsum nobilissimis reliquias quamplurimis dotare curavit, inter quas specialiter honorabile caput s. Anastasiae, magna pars corporum sanctarum virginum et martyrum Agapae, Cioniae et Yrenes sororum ancillarum S. Anastasiae, et pars reliquiarum sanctorum martyrum Grysogoni et Zoyli presbiteri. Beatus Grysogonus b. Anastasiam in fide eruditus catholica, et decollatus est ad Aquas Gradatas iuxta Aquileiam, ubi ipsius corpus s. Zoilus collegit et in loculo ligneo collocavit et in cubiculo subterraneo domus suae posuit. Horam siquidem reliquias venerabilis et devota domina et illustris regina superius memorata cum omni diligentia in quadam capsula lignea collocavit, argento modo debito ornata, iuxta altare maius monasterii supradicti, ubi aedificavit pulcherrimum chorum pulchre testudinatum et per circulum ornatum tabulis marmoreis non paucis, cum marmores columnis circa altare testudinem sustentibus et pavimento lapidum diversorum ornato colorum, et portam habentem desuper vitem pulcherrime sculptam et desuper vitem imaginem sex sculptas supradictorum sanctorum Anastasiae, Agapae, Cionie, Yrenes, Grysogoni et Zoilus.

Elapso post haec longissimo temporis spatio, reliquiae positae in supradicta capsula oblivioni sunt traditae in tantum quod totaliter ignobatur quid esset in capsula, maxime ex eo quod capsula multum antiqua et modo extraneo fabricata esset, tet argentum, cum quo erat ornata, erat ablatum. Igitur anno Domini MCCXLII pervenit in Civitate Austria frater Leonardus de Latissana ordinis fratrum predicatorum de monasterio Tarvisino ... Existente igitur fratre Leonardo praedicto die V mensis maii in monasterio et curiose perquirendo circa altare maius, intuens capsulam superius nominatam, cepit a dominis monialibus inquirere quod esset in capsula reconditum. Responsum illi fuit quod nesciebant quid lateret in capsula. Ipse tunc curiosus coepit investigare, et cum uno cultelo asserem, qui erat in uno capite capsulae, tantum quassavit quod ipsum removit a capsula. Qua extracta et excussa pulvere, quae erat interius, apparuit, unum pulchrum pallium quod stabat super reliquias: auferrens tunc inde pallium, tantum odor mirae fragrantiae exalavit per totam monasterium, quod habitantes illud odore etiam sentientes ...⁴¹

This text was written in the 16th century, and could be criticised with good reason as being a document of quite late date. However, there is older evidence from Santa Maria in Valle to confirm the existence of the cult there from

⁴¹ Mor 1977: 255–56.

at least the 14th century. It has already been mentioned that the earthquake destroyed the stuccowork on the side walls of the oratory of Santa Maria in Valle. After the earthquake, these walls had to be repaired, and in the 14th century, new frescoes were painted over the walls. The barrel vaulting in the chancel of this oratory was covered with fresco paintings at about the same time. The composition painted on the northern wall, shows six saintly figures, four female and two male.⁴² The six saints are once again those from the passion of St Anastasia: Anastasia, three sisters – the Salonika martyrs, St Chrysogonus and St Zoilus. The images are accompanied with inscriptions, so there can be no doubt about the names of the saints depicted. The arrangement of the figures is different than on the western wall: the four female martyrs are in the centre, flanked by St Chrysogonus and St Zoilus. In any case, they certainly confirm the presence of the cult in the oratory of Santa Maria in Valle from at the very latest the 14th century, supporting the data from the text dated a century earlier.

Let us return now to the tradition of the Lombard queen, Piltruda. There is no historically attested Lombard queen of this name, but this does not mean the personality of Piltruda is invented. To be able to identify her, it is necessary to go back to 762, when a document describing the foundation of the monastery of Sta Maria in Silvis, in Sesto al Reghena is dated. The monastery was founded by three Lombard brothers: Erfo, Anto and Marco. The document states further that the three brothers founded another monastery, at a place called Salt, a few kilometres to the west of Udine. Their mother, Piltruda, was supposed to be the abbess of this monastery.⁴³ There can be no doubt that this is the same Piltruda from the Cividale tradition, as is shown by the events that followed. The monastery in Salt did not remain there for very long. It was built in an open space, and it was subject to attacks so the nuns finally were moved, to the monastery of Sta Maria in Valle in Cividale.⁴⁴ There are no reliable documents from which one might discern when the nuns were

42 The frescos on the lateral walls were taken down in contemporary restoration operations and are today exhibited in the local museum. A photograph showing them in their original place in the north wall of Sta. Maria in Valle can be seen in L'Orange & Torp 1977: T. 134.

43 *Quapropter Erfo et Anto seu Marco germani, in laico ante constituti, diuina inspirante gratia, edificavimus monasteria dua in finibus Foroiulanensis: unum in locum que vocatur Sexto, ad honorem semperque uirginis Dei genetricis Marie et beatorum Iohannis Baptiste et Petri apostoli Christi, et statueramus ut inibi cum fratres sub iugo regule in Dei servitio uiuemus; et alio monastero edificauimus in ripa que uocatur Salto, supradictorum semperque uirgnis Dei genetricis Marie et Iohannis Baptiste et Petri apostoli Christi sanctorum honore, ubi Piltruda domina et genetrix nostra cum agregatis feminis monachorum habitu habitare deberent, Charta Donationis, p. 101.*

44 Brozzi 1976; Spinelli 1999.

transferred from Salt to Cividale. According to some, it happened during the time of the patriarch Sigwald (756–786), immediately after the foundation, but according to the other accounts it happened in 830, when the monastery in Santa Maria in Valle was mentioned for the first time in a diploma of Louis the Pious and Lothar, to the benefit of the patriarch of Aquileia Maxentius: *monasterium puellarum quod dicitur Sanctae Mariae, quod est situm iuxta basilicam sancti Johannis, constructum infra muros civitatis Forouliensis in loco qui dicitur Vallis ...* Another interpretation suggests that it happened as late as the times of king Berengar I (888), but at that time the nuns were certainly no longer in Salt. It is not clear whether the nuns from Salt were simply joined to those in the existing monastery in Cividale or whether the operations of the nunnery in the existing oratory known as the *Tempietto longobardo* (Santa Maria in Valle) actually started only with the arrival of the nuns of Piltruda.⁴⁵

Until the restoration works in the Tempietto in 1968, to the left of the altar there was a sarcophagus, which according to tradition belonged to Piltruda. During the restoration, the sarcophagus was disassembled, as it consisted of several slabs. Two of those slabs were decorated with reliefs in the Lombard sculptural style of the second half of the 8th century. Today, they are on display in the Tempietto itself.⁴⁶ These slabs have a very interesting shape: narrow and high, with slanting at the top. In many ways they recall another important artefact of the Lombard era, the *urna di Sta Anastasia*, today kept in the crypt of the monastery in Sesto al Reghena founded by Piltruda's sons.⁴⁷ Although the original function of the urn has been the subject of various interpretations, it was only after the urn was opened and restored that its original shape and function were resolved. The urn was originally part of a sarcophagus. It consists of three sides and was originally placed upright. The two lateral sides were slanted, just like those two slabs from Piltruda's sarcophagus. The original function of the urn was convincingly explained by Paolo Piva and Chiara Lambert: this was a lectern on which the codex is leant, called in the medieval texts *analogium*.⁴⁸ Isidorus of Seville provides the following definition of *analogium*: *Analogium dictum quod sermo inde praedicetur; nam λόγος Graece sermo dicitur; quod et ipsud altius situm est [ut in eo lector vel psalmista positus in publico conspici a*

45 Mor 1977: 255–56; Brozi 1976; Spinelli 1999 (overview of the various opinions).

46 See photographs of Piltruda's sarcophagus before disassembly in L' Orange & Torp 1977: T. 144.

47 L' Orange & Torp 1979: 157; Lusuardi Siena & Piva 2002: 304–05; Gaberscek 1988: 198 (the similarity of the Piltruda sarcophagus and the Urn of Anastasia in Sesto al Reghena, long since seen in the literature).

48 Piva 1999: 289–92; Lambert 2004: 756–78.

populo possit, quo liberius audiatur].⁴⁹ Du Change, quoting Hugaccio of Pisa, draws directly from this: *Analogium, ab λόγος, quod est sermo: quia ibi supra sermocinamur*.⁵⁰ The Rule of St Benedict says about *analogia*: *Quibus dicitis, dicto versu, benedicat abbas et, sedentibus omnibus in scamnis, legantur vicissim a fratribus in codice super analogium tres lectiones, inter quas et tria responsoria cantentur*.⁵¹ There are other very similar depictions which need not be listed here, and I will provide only one of these, which is particularly illustrative here. In the canons regular of St Gilbert of Sempringham, Chapter 12, entitled *De officio ecclesiastico clericorum et eorum capitulo et regula legenda* states: *Lector vero veniens ante analogium, aperiat librum et inclinet se ad benedictione*.⁵²

Hence, the slabs from Piltruda's sarcophagus are the lateral sides of such an *analogium*.⁵³ They must have arrived in the Tempietto from the old monastery in Salt. In the Tempietto the *analogium* is still standing in its original position, and is a bit different in shape, a column placed upright with a top for the codex.⁵⁴ The slabs from the Piltruda sarcophagus might have come to the Tempietto at the same time as the nuns from Salt. Perhaps, it was even meant to be used for the structure of the sarcophagus of their foundress. In any event, it seems that the two monasteries founded by Erfo, Anto and Marco were equipped with very similar liturgical furniture and that in the actual oratories, it was the *analogium* that had pride of place.

The *analogium* from the monastery of St Maria in Sylvis in Sesto al Reghena, which during the high Middle Ages was turned into the urn of St Anastasia additionally reminds us of the spread of the cult of this female saint in the north Adriatic area, particularly in Longobardia Maior. We might add that a village close to Monza, with a parish church dedicated to St Anastasia, is named after this saint (Villasanta) and is mentioned in the historical sources as early as 768.⁵⁵ Just how much the cult of St Anastasia in Cividale is dependent on the founders of the two Lombard monasteries is hard to say with certainty, but it remains a fact that the cult is attested at the sites with which they were most directly connected: in Sesto al Reghena (Erfo, Anto and Marco) and Cividale (Piltruda). Even more important for this discussion is that the veneration of

49 Isidorus, *Orig.* 5.10.17.

50 Du Cange (1883/87): s.v. *analogium*.

51 *Regula Benedicti* 9.

52 St Gilbert, *Capit. de Canon.* p. *xxix.

53 Lambert 1999: 78.

54 Rugo 1990: 20, Figs. 33–38.

55 Zastrow 2005.

St Anastasia in Cividale is directly connected with the cult of St Chrysogonus and Zoilus and the three sisters martyred in Salonika. This homogeneous group of six martyrs firmly related to each other in the hagiographic tradition is recorded in the *Passio S. Anastasiae*. All of them are geographically connected with Aquileia, or its immediate surroundings, in which the martyrdom of St Chrysogonus occurred.

Such a cult image, in which these six figures are connected in a single cult is attested only in one other location – Zadar. It seems that the appearance and veneration of this closed group of martyrs at one location had a direct influence on the other. Since the life of the martyrs is immediately connected with Aquileia, and from there transferred to Cividale as the seat of the patriarchy was transferred from Aquileia to Cividale, it seems that the influence might have gone only in one direction – from Cividale to Zadar. This raises another question: did the cult of the aforementioned saintly grouping arrive from Cividale to Zadar, and if so when? There is no doubt that St Chrysogonus and Anastasia were venerated in Zadar as early as the 10th century. In the 29th chapter of *DAI* some basic information about Zadar is given: “In the same city lies in flesh St Anastasia the virgin, daughter of Eustathius who was on the throne at that time; and St Chrysogonus, monk and martyr, and his holy chain”.⁵⁶ There is other evidence that confirms their cult in Zadar even before the 10th century. In regards to St Anastasia, there is the marble reliquary kept in the Cathedral of St Anastasia (*sveta Stošija*), in which the saint’s relics are kept. It was commissioned at the very beginning of the 9th century by the local bishop, Donatus, who had the following inscription carved on its surface:

IN NOMINE S(AN)C(T)E TRINITATIS. HIC REQUIESCIT CORP
VS BEATE S(AN)C(T)E ANASTASIE + DE/DONIS D(E)I ET
S(AN)C(T)E ANASTASIE DONATVS PECCATVR EPISCO
PVS FECIT D(E)O GRATIAS

Part of the text is repeated on the lateral side:

+IN NOMINE S(AN)C(T)E TRINITATIS. HIC RE
QUIESCIT CORPUS BEATE S(AN)C(T)E ANA
STASIE

⁵⁶ *DAI*, 29.275–78.

and continues on the cover:

DE DONIS D(E)I DONATVS
PECCATVR EPISCOPVS
FECIT⁵⁷

For the cult of St Chrysogonus, the situation is a bit different. We do not have such direct information about this Aquileian martyr venerated in Zadar at the beginning of the 9th century. However, one epigraphic monument does preserve the name of St Chrysogonus, dated not by the name of the local bishop, but by the name of the secular ruler, the Croat duke Branimir (879–892):

IN N(omine) D(omi)NI TE(m)POR(e) DOMNO [Br]ANNI[mero]
DVCI EGO C[ede]DRA[go] [ad ho]NORE(m) BEATI PETRI ET
S(an)C(ta)E MARIE S(an)C(t)I GEORGI S(an)C(t)I STEFANI S(an)C(t)I
MARTINI S(an)C(t)I GRISOGONI S(an)C(ta)E CRVCIS.⁵⁸

This epigraphic evidence is not directly connected with Zadar. It was placed on the roodscreen of an oratory from Otres, the locality in the immediate surroundings of Bribir (Breberium), in the hinterland of Zadar. Despite this, it should be pointed out that this epigraph was carved below the Bribir *oppidum* by the same carvers who carved the donor's epigraph on the roodscreen in the Church of St Chrysogonus in Zadar.⁵⁹ This shows that the Church of St Chrysogonus in Zadar was erected at the latest in the last quarter of the 9th century, even though in written sources it is recorded for the first time no earlier than 918.⁶⁰ The cult of St Chrysogonus in Zadar during the 9th century is attested in a different way by a local tradition concerning the translation of his relics from Aquileia. The story tells how the relics came to Zadar through the agency of a merchant of Aquileia (*trapezita civitatis Aquilegie Helius nomine*) and how the saint's arm was then stolen and taken off to the province of Marab (*in provinciam que dicitur Marab*) where the Myrmidons lived. However, as it only caused trouble in Marab, it was decided that the relict should be restored to its previous owners.⁶¹ R. Katičić, pursuant to the internal content of the text of the translation, came to the conclusion that: "there is no doubt that this later

57 Brunelli 1913: 192–93; Jakšić 2001: 380.

58 Delonga 1996: 217.

59 Jakšić 2015: 347–76.

60 *CD*, 1.21 (p. 25–28).

61 The text *Translatio beati Grisogoni martyris* was published by Iveković 1931.

redaction is founded on an older and simpler original that, it seems, was written in the 9th century".⁶² Further analysis of the internal content of the translation, particularly the interpretation of the toponym Marab, which M. Ančić links directly with the Moravians (Maravani)⁶³ additionally confirms that the core of this text comes from the 9th century, which means that the veneration of St Chrysogonus in Zadar has been reliably confirmed to have been occurring since at least some time in the 9th century.⁶⁴

That the cult of St Chrysogonus arrived in Zadar from Friuli need not be doubted. This conclusion is suggested by the text of the Zadar translation in the mention of Elijah the Aquileian *trapezita*. This is a cult that sprang up in Friuli, and then spread to the neighbouring areas, such as Ravenna and Verona, as has already been discussed above.⁶⁵ The question of how the cult of St Anastasia arrived in Zadar and where is a different matter. Local tradition is preserved in a text entitled *Historia translationis S. Anastasiae (Historia tSA)*, containing an account of how the relics came to Zadar from Constantinople. The arrival of the relics is ascribed to bishop Donatus, who, as we have seen, had a reliquary made for the reception of Anastasia's relics. In the text, the event is dated in 804.⁶⁶ It seems, then, that the information from the Zadar *Historia tSA* and the reliquary is entirely consistent. Donatus is also confirmed to have been bishop in 805 by a source likely to be reliable.⁶⁷ Information from the *Historia tSA* that the relics of St Anastasia arrived from Constantinople has been accepted in the historical literature as authentic,⁶⁸ and the debate has focussed on whether the year to which this event is dated is precise enough.⁶⁹

Only T. Vedriš has taken a different approach to examining the text of the *Historia tSA*, drawing attention to the internal content, which is full of literary figures taken from ancient writers, including parallels taken from the *Vulgate*. Vedriš was the first to express a certain reservation about interpretations that argue for the Constantinopolitan origins of the saint's relics in Zadar. While reserved towards the Constantinopolitan origins, Vedriš does not fully reject

62 Katičić 1993: 200.

63 Ančić 1998a.

64 Vedriš 2014b.

65 There is no evidence to support the idea that the cult came to Zadar from Rome where St Chrysogonus was also venerated, for he was a native of the Eternal City.

66 The text is preserved in a manuscript of the 17th century and was first published by Farlati 1775: 34–35.

67 *ARF*, s.a. 805.

68 Klaić & Petricoli 1976: 66, 70–72; Katičić 1998: 370.

69 Manojlović 1901: 3–12.

this view, pointing out that in the *Historia tSA* the adjective *Pharmacolytria* ('she who protects from potions') might have been the residue of Constantinopolitan traditions. This attribute of the saint was probably ascribed due to her successful resistance to the evil spirits during her voyage to the Adriatic ports.⁷⁰ This brings us again to the question of which direction the early relics arrived in the Adriatic ports from in the early Middle Ages. This problem was addressed by J. Osborne, who arrived at the conclusion that the establishment of the cult of St Anastasia in Zadar and St Tryphon in Kotor was the result of a Byzantine initiative. These saints were used as a counterweight against the cult of St Martin, which, in his opinion arrived on the eastern coast of the Adriatic as the result of Frankish influences.⁷¹

The validity of Osborne's ideas should be subject to closer scrutiny. The idea of the cult of St Martin in the eastern Adriatic having early medieval origins is very problematic. There is evidence for this cult being present in this area from the 6th century at least, which I first argued in a Croatian-language paper published in 1993,⁷² and a year later in a paper accessible to the international reading public,⁷³ which Osborne did not take into account. The argument point to the case of Ravenna in which after the Arians had been driven out the former palatine chapel of Theodoric was dedicated to St Martin, a prominent fighter against heresy. After this event many churches in the eastern Adriatic were dedicated to St Martin. I repeated this argument in two subsequent articles on the issue of Christian cults inside Diocletian's Palace in Split.⁷⁴ Vedriš discussed the same problem, gathering more comprehensive collection of documentation concerning the churches from 6th century Dalmatia dedicated to St Martin.⁷⁵ In any event, the thesis of Osborne about the time and manner of the introduction of the cult of St Martin to Dalmatia cannot be supported.⁷⁶

70 Vedriš 2008: 39.

71 Osborne 1999.

72 Jakšić 1993: 127–44, esp. n.5.

73 Jakšić 1995b, esp. n.3.

74 Jakšić 2002; 2003.

75 Vedriš 2009. It is interesting that Vedriš avoids mentioning the viewpoint of Osborne about this problem, although from the text, it can be seen he knows the article well.

76 Osborne (1999: 385) provides examples of two religious monuments that are supposed to confirm the cult of St Martin in Dalmatia in the 9th century. The Church of St Martin in Trogir, he claims, is a building of the 9th century, which is not accurate, since it was built at the turn of the 10th and 11th centuries – Bužančić 1997. Osborne refers to an old opinion of Bulić from 1894, which is long rejected in the literature, that dates the altar rail placed in the Chapel of St Martin in Split to the 9th century. There is a whole series of texts with corresponding dating to the second half of the 11th century, and the reader is referred to a recent work of Marasović (2011: 317–23), where an extensive bibliography is cited. In both cases, these are older shrines established not in the 9th but in the 6th century, as shown by fragments of liturgical furniture found there.

The weakness of Osborne's argument regarding the cult of St Martin in Dalmatia, also casts doubt on his argument about St Anastasia's arrival to Zadar from Byzantium.

Veneration of this saint in the northern Adriatic, as shown earlier, is confirmed by numerous examples at various different sites (Ravenna, Aquileia, Cividale, Sesto al Reghena, Villasanta, Verona), which confirms that the cult had been established at the latest by the 6th century. This very fact indicates the need to direct attention to the area of the northern Adriatic. On the other hand, it also invites us to re-examine the information from the Zadar legend in the *Historia tSA* because this text is the sole source of information for a Byzantine origin of the cult in Zadar. As already remarked, Vedriš drew attention to its components, analysing the manner in which the *Historia tSA* was composed. When the text is stripped of its literary references and the descriptions of the hardships that accompany every account of a medieval voyage, very little information remains to link its content directly with any historical events and persons. The most interesting to historians is the journey of the Zadar bishop Donatus and the Venetian *dux* Benenatus as envoys to Constantinople. The dating in 804 fits in very well with their visit to Charlemagne in the following year. The name of the Venetian *dux* was written somewhat mistakenly as *Benenatus veteriarum dux* instead of *Beatus*, but this can be tolerated in a text preserved in a relatively late copy. It is important to notice in this text is that these two appear in the special role of peace envoys of Charlemagne (*videlicet Donatus Jadre urbis Praesul & Benenatus Venetiarum Dux, tam quia legati pacis a Carlo*). This passage shows that the compiler of the *Historia tSA* used some local sources from which it can be discerned that Donatus and Beatus were in 805 at the court of Charlemagne. This information 'promoted' them to Charlemagne's personal envoys to Constantinople, without any other evidence. Involving these historically authenticated envoys into its text, the *Historia tSA* gains on credibility. Credibility is additionally increased by information that Anastasia was buried in Sirmium (in the text *Smyrnae civitati*), by the Christian woman Apollonia (*Apollonia femina Christianissima in quodam suo viridario extruxerat illi basilicam post passionem ejus, & ibi, ut decuit martyrem. In marmora tumba cum aromatibus recondidit*). After the barbarians had taken Sirmium, the inhabitants moved the body to Constantinople, which 'explains' the idea of bringing her remains to Dalmatia by Donatus and Beatus (*quibus praenominati viri Smyrnites divina providentia adhaeserant, & qui essent. & qualiter Constantinopolim devenissent, & sicut sanctissimum corpus Beate Anastasiae virginis & martyris de Smyrna civitate secum detulissent, omnia narrant petentae secum velle in Dalmatiam perger*). The authenticity is enhanced by information about Apollonia also contained in *Passio sanctae Anastasiae* and was no doubt taken from it (*Tunc Apollonia christiana matrona*

per matronam praefecti meruit corpus eius tollere. Quod accipiens exosculatur, et aromatibus condiens atque dignis lintheaminibus obvolvens intra viridarium domus sue – ut decuit martyrem – sepelivit atque expenso non parvo pecuniae numero basilicam ubi eam sepelierat fabricavit). As for Sirmium, as the site of her martyrdom, it is already contained in *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*. After the arrival in Zadar, a decision had to be made as to which city will take custody of the saint's body – Zadar or Venice. In this part of the text Benenatus is shown in a somewhat negative light (*Benenatus Dux, quoniam vir prudens erat et praepotens*) insisting that the relics belonged to him. Donatus too did his best to acquire the relics for Zadar (*Donatus vero Archipraesul e converso nitebatur famuliter retinere illud, ac summa cum veneratione Jaderam introducere*). Finally, it was decided that the saint's body would go to the Venetian *dux*. However, the permission that the *dux* obtained from the people of Zadar was interrupted by *force majeure* and he was unable to wait for the weather conditions that would enable him to set sail for Venice. Recognising the divine will in this, he finally surrendered the body to the people of Zadar. The competition and tensions between the two leaders of the Adriatic coastal cities from the *Historia tSA* are characteristic of their relations in the Middle Ages until 1409, when Zadar became a part of the Venetian maritime empire. The divine will that in these conflicts was on the side of Zadar is appropriate primarily to the situation that we know in the second half of the 12th century when the city several times shrugged off Venetian rule, and accepted the suzerainty of Bela III of Hungary, who placed at the head of the city the Zadar native *Damianus Dessinia*.⁷⁷

The compiler of the *Historia tSA* was skilled, educated and well informed. He knew above all the fact that the body of St Anastasia has been reposed in Constantinople, after being brought there from Sirmium. He also knew that in 805 Donatus and Beatus were at the court of Charlemagne, turning them into the emperor's personal envoys to Constantinople. The author of *Historia tSA* paraphrases Lucan and St Augustine and, above all, the *Vulgate*. He is familiar with the hagiographic tradition in the texts of *Passio S. Anastasie* and *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*. Finally, the author is not well disposed to Venetian rule, for he says that the Venetians attempted to lay hands on the relics that were, by Divine will, the property of Zadar. It seems that the text of the *Historia tSA* was created in circumstances of constant tension between Zadar and Venice, which were at that time mirrored not only at the political but also at the ecclesiastical level, since the archbishop of Zadar was directly subordinate to the patriarch in Grado. These circumstances take us to the time

77 Brunelli 1913: 359–65; Klaić & Petricioli 1986: 167–74 (historical circumstances).

of Archbishop Lampridius (1146–1180), and it seems that either he or someone from his immediate circle must have been the author of the *Historia tSA*, which puts the origin of the relics of the city's chief patroness in Constantinople, aware that her body had been there for centuries, after it was carried from Sirmium.⁷⁸ The elevation of the Zadar Church to the rank of metropolitan was probably also something that prompted the composition of a new and fairly 'faithful' story explaining how Zadar had come under the protection of St Anastasia.

This close connection of the eastern coast of the Adriatic with the events in the northern Adriatic in the Carolingian era is illustrated also by the signature of the Croat magnates in what is known as the *Evangeliarium Cividalese (Forojuliensis)*.⁷⁹ Amongst some 1500 pilgrims known by name, mainly from Slavic or Germanic areas, we can find the names of Croat princes from the 9th century, such as for example, *domno Tripimiro* (f. 5r), *Petrus filius domno Tripemero* (f. 23v), *Brannimero comiti*, *Mariosa cometissa* (f. 102v). This *Evangeliarium* was at that time kept in the monastery of St Mary in San Canzian d'Isonzo, the place where, as said earlier, St Chrysogonus was buried in a distinct shrine together with St Protus. Since the last decade of the 20th century, there has been unanimous agreement in the scholarship that this refers to a monastery which once stood on this very location and where during the 9th century the *Evangeliarium Cividalese (Forojuliensis)* was kept.⁸⁰ The locality itself is mentioned in a deed of gift of the Emperor Louis I to the Aquileian patriarch, Maxentius, in this manner: *Nos [Hlodovicus] ad monasterium Sancte Marie quod est situm in territorio Foroiuliensi, constructum in honorem sanctorum Cantianorum [...] que in memorato vico sanctorum Cantianorum [...]*.⁸¹ If we add to this the fact that Theodosius, the new Archbishop of Split, in the last quarter of the 9th century sought and gained confirmation of his election from the Aquileian patriarch Walpert and not from pope Stephen VI,⁸² additional light is thrown on the relation of the eastern Adriatic coast and hinterland with the Aquileian patriarchate during the 9th century.

There is no need for a long conclusion to this paper. The evidence presented above implies a new interpretation of the origins of the 'saintly pantheon' in Zadar, which seems to have been transmitted there from Friuli as a 'package' during the 9th century. This argument further enlightens the directions of new

78 Farlati 1775: 57–62; Perićić 2009; Dokoza 2009 (the first Zadar metropolitan, Lampridius).

79 Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Archivi e Biblioteca, codice CXXXVIII.

80 Krahwinkler 1992: 267; Scalon 2000: 101–03; 2001: 21–23; Scalon 2005; Tilatti 2004; Pani 2012: 152; Vedriš 2014b: 212–15.

81 *Diplomi inediti*: 21–22; Tilatti 2004: 227.

82 *CD*, 1.16 (p. 19–20).

social networks created in the Carolingian Adriatic frontier zone at that time, seen through transmission of the cults of saints. There is a strong evidence for the Anastasia cult in the northern Adriatic before the beginning of the 9th century, when the *Historia tSA* dates the introduction of the cult to Zadar. The examples presented show that her cult in this region was closely connected with that of St Chrysogonus. Since Chrysogonus' cult came to Zadar from his 'homeland', it seems very likely that the search for the roots of Anastasia's cult in Zadar should also be sought in that direction. In Zadar the veneration of the six martyrs connected in the *Passio S. Anastasiae* is also recorded, which is besides Zadar documented only in Cividale. This evidence leads to the conclusion that the cult of the six martyrs came to Zadar directly from Cividale, very likely at the moment when the bishop of Zadar, Donatus, travelled to the court of Charlemagne. The Zadar reliquary of St Anastasia was commissioned by the bishop Donatus, which indirectly confirms this dating. Taking this into account it is possible to argue that the whole of the Zadar *pantheon* with the protagonists recorded in the *Passio S. Anastasiae* is a reflection of Carolingian and not of Byzantine influence, as has hitherto been thought.

There were very serious reasons for sending the relics from the Bosphorus to Zadar, the leading center and the capital of Dalmatia. Even if it happened, it is quite certain that the selection of St Anastasia relics were conditioned by the already established Christian pantheon of Zadar realized just during the Carolingian rule in Dalmatia when the relations with the north Adriatic towns and their sanctuaries were strengthened.

Church, Churchyard, and Children in the Early Medieval Balkans: A Comparative Perspective

Florin Curta

The archaeology of Christianization in the Balkans has so far focused almost exclusively on artefacts with supposedly clear Christian symbolism – pectoral crosses, censers, and reliquaries.¹ Little attention has been paid to church graveyards established in the region during the early Middle Ages.² Particularly important in this respect is the burial of sub-adults in Christian cemeteries, given that it was actually the teaching of Christianity that came to define the nature of childhood.³ In Christian cemeteries, children tended to be buried in certain areas of the graveyard or under the eaves of churches.⁴ Indeed, before the 9th century, the right of burial in community cemeteries was rarely, if ever, extended to children.⁵ Equally absent is a comparative approach to the archaeology of Christianization in the Balkans. During the 9th century, Christianity was adopted in both Croatia and Bulgaria.⁶ To be sure, the interest in the archaeology of Christianization in Bulgaria is also of a recent date.⁷ Bulgarian scholars have also focused primarily on artefacts with Christian symbolism, without paying sufficient attention to the introduction of church graveyards,

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- 1 Doncheva-Petkova & Khristova 2012 (Bulgaria); Špehar 2010; 2015 (Serbia); Belošević 1997; Tomljenović 1997; Petrinec 2010; 2012 (Croatia). ‘Christianization’, in what follows, refers to the institutionalization of Christian liturgical practices, which is visible, among other things, through the building of churches. For a similar use of the term; Barvenova & Lavysh 2012; Bukowska 2012; Tzavella 2014, and Vedriš 2015.
 - 2 For graveyards associated with churches and monasteries built in the late 11th and 12th centuries, see Stanojev 2005.
 - 3 For the legal defense of women and children in Christian Bulgaria, see Simeonova 2009.
 - 4 Lucy 1994: 23, 28; Perez 2011: 61–62. There has been no discussion of medieval child graves in Croatia, but Petrinec 2009a: 166 compares finds of jingle bells in Croatian and Bulgarian cemeteries.
 - 5 Etter & Schneider 1982: 53.
 - 6 The literature on the conversion of Bulgaria is enormous. For a good survey of both written sources and the older literature, see Giuzelev 2006. For a more nuanced approach, see also Cheshmedzhiev 2005; Stepanov 2009; Sophoulis 2015. For a comparative approach to the Christianization of Bulgaria, see Tschilingirov 1993; Mayr-Harting 1994; Grigorowa 2004.
 - 7 Doncheva-Petkova 1995; Doncheva-Petkova & Khristova 2012; Fiedler 2012. Fiedler (2012: 113–16) deals with church architecture as well, but not with church graveyards.

and with no concern for parallel phenomena in the Balkans, or elsewhere in Europe. In this chapter, I will therefore attempt to bring side by side the results of the incipient research on early medieval church graveyards in Croatia and Bulgaria, and to elucidate two main problems. First, was the Christianization of Croatia and of Bulgaria immediately followed by the introduction of church graveyards? If so, what was the proportion and position of child burials in those cemeteries, especially when compared to earlier burial grounds? My goal is to provide a solid basis for assessing the social impact of Christianity and to shift the emphasis from artefacts to practices, especially those involved in a fundamental change in the social representation of age categories.⁸

Upon close inspection, there seems to be little, if any evidence of child burials in graveyards associated with some of the earliest churches built in the Croatian lands during the second half of the 9th century.⁹ The most famous case is, of course, that of the three-aisled Church of St Mary in Crkvina near Biskupija, which has been recently associated with a palatial compound and dated to the early 9th century.¹⁰ The relationship between the church and the burials found along the southern wall of the church and in the narthex remains a much debated issue, primarily because of the absence of any documentation pertaining to the excavations that Lujo Marun carried out on the site in 1892.¹¹ Maja Petrinec claims that all nine burials found outside the church, along its southern wall, as well as four of those found inside the church pre-date the building, but others maintain that the narthex was specifically built as a funerary space and must therefore be earlier than, at least, some of the graves inside the church.¹² Sorting out of the grave goods associated with the ten graves excavated by Marun (one inside, the other nine outside the church, along the southern side) has led Maja Petrinec to conclude that at least one of them is the grave of a child.¹³ That conclusion was not based on an examination of the bones – all of which have been lost – but on the presence among the grave

8 Herlihy 1978; Alexandre-Bidon & Lett 1999; Hanawalt 2002 (the historiographic framework of the study of children in association with the impact of Christianity on society).

9 Jurković 1992a; 2000a; Marasović 1994; Jakšić 2000; Milošević 2000a: 2.174ff. (churches built between the second half of the 9th and the first half of the 10th century in Croatia).

10 Milošević 2002: 202.

11 Jurišić 1979; Zekan 2007; 2008 (Lujo Marun as a pioneer of medieval archaeology in Croatia). Petrinec & Jurčević 2015: 347–52 (a brief history of archaeological research in the early medieval cemetery at Biskupija).

12 Petrinec 2006: 21 and 35 pl. 1; Petrinec & Jurčević 2015: 352–54. For the opposite point of view, see Sokol 2009. However, according to Petrinec & Jurčević (2015: 355), the narthex could not have been built before ca. 830.

13 Petrinec 2009a: 75, 77–78. For the artefacts found during Marun's excavations, see Radić 1895; 1896a; 1896b; 1897.

goods of three jingle bells, which Petrinec believes to be dress accessories typically associated with children.¹⁴ There were no weapons in the grave, and no spurs, only a knife, a belt buckle, and fragments of gold cloth, now lost. The grave is located next to the wall of the church, and parallel to it, an indication that it may be of a date later than that of the building.¹⁵ Another child burial, however, was found during the 1983 excavations in the narthex. Jingle bells have also been found in this grave together with a pair of gilded silver spurs of an early Carolingian date.¹⁶ However, this grave was underneath the wall of the narthex. Judging from the stratigraphic information, therefore, the child grave must have pre-dated the building of the church in the 820s, at the earliest. It is possible that grave 10 also pre-dates the church. If so, then there were no children among those buried inside or outside the Church of St Mary from the late 9th century onwards.¹⁷ The situation in Crkvina is in contrast to that documented in northern Croatia, on the site of a timber church recently found to the south from the present-day Church of Our Lady of the Mountain in Lobar, between Zagreb and Varaždin. A young individual, presumably a girl, was buried inside the apse of the church together with silver earrings with grape-shaped pendants dated before 900.¹⁸ In addition, 26 graves have been found around the church, but none of them had grave goods, and they may be of a later date.¹⁹

None of the 28 graves found around the ruins of the Church of St Martha in Bijaći (above Kaštel Štafilić, near Trogir), produced skeletal evidence of sub-adults. The church was certainly built in the 9th century, for it is mentioned in the first charter of Duke Trpimir (845–864). The small cemetery, however, has two phases, one dated to Late Antiquity, the other to the early Middle Ages. Only 13 graves may be assigned to the later phase, and of those only a

14 Petrinec 2009a: 165. To be sure, in Bulgaria jingle bells have been typically found in child burials, cf. Stanilov 2005; 2006; 2007. However, in Croatia, jingle bells have also been found in association with a male skeleton in grave 322 in Nin-Ždrijac, Belošević 1980, pl. 25.

15 Petrinec 2009a: 78, 165. For the location of the grave, see the plan in Petrinec 2006: 35, pl. 1.

16 Budimir 1992: 29 and fig. 6; Petrinec 2009a: 78, 166 figs. 57–58, 196, 430, pl. 106. According to Petrinec 2009a: 166, the child buried inside the vault tomb was the “son of the (*local*) prince.”

17 Petrinec & Jurčević 2015: 357 fig. 6 (a general plan of the church cemetery excavated by Marun in the late 19th century).

18 Filipec 2007: 419; 2010c: 55, see also Filipec in this volume. For the Church of Our Lady of the Mountain, see Jurica & Filipec 2002. For the earrings with grape-shaped pendants, see Sokol 2016: 153 and 158, who believes that this type of earrings “went out of fashion at some point during the third quarter of the 9th century.”

19 Filipec 2005: 140. It remains unknown whether that group of burials contained any child graves.

few have been found next to the church, on its northern side. Two of them – one immediately next to the wall of the church – are of small size, and may have been graves of children.²⁰ A church (possibly a rotunda) is believed to have existed in the middle of the cemetery excavated on the St Salvation (Sveti Spas) hill near Knin, not far from Crkvina. A child burial (no. 7) was closest to the presumed location of the church, with two other children buried a little farther away to the southeast (graves 32 and 33).²¹ Two of those burials had no grave goods whatsoever; another produced two plain links for which no precise date can be established.²² It is therefore difficult to tell whether the three child burials were among the earliest in the cemetery, or otherwise belong to one of its two subsequent phases, specifically to that dated to the 11th century.²³ A similar situation is known from Nin, near Zadar, on the coast. There were 41 child burials among the 202 graves discovered in the cemetery surrounding the Church of the Holy Cross (Sv. Križ).²⁴ Sub-adults represent therefore slightly more than 20 percent of all graves in the cemetery, but only a quarter (10) may be dated to the early Middle Ages, the other being of a late medieval or even early modern date. Only two out of the ten graves have goods – a ceramic pot in grave 182 and bronze ear – or lock-rings in grave 141.²⁵ Both are located relatively far from the church, 182 to the west, and 141 to the northeast. Most child burials of the early phase of the cemetery around the Church of the Holy Cross in Nin are scattered across the area excavated in 1968–1970 and, again, in 1997 and 1998 (Fig. 13.1). By contrast, later child burials cluster around the church, some of them immediately next to its walls (Fig. 13.2).

Elsewhere, the archaeological record indicates that child burials appear only in later phases of the church graveyard. In Lopuška glavica in Biskupija, not far from Crkvina, two graves adjacent to the apse of the church (46 and 51) are of small size, possibly of children. However, a grave found within the church entrance and underneath the church walls produced a pair of earrings with three plain joints made of wire, which cannot be dated before 900.²⁶

20 Jelovina 1999: 101, 106 fig. 12.

21 Jelovina 1989: 126, 129. For the presumed (timber) church in the middle of the cemetery, see Sokol 2006: 80 and plan 10. Graves 32 and 33 are next to a passage or path between the graves, which may have led to the entrance into the church.

22 Jelovina 1989: 166 pl. 4.4–5 (grave 32).

23 Sokol 2016: 61.

24 Belošević 1968; 1969; 1970; 1999 (the systematic excavations of the church and its immediate surroundings).

25 Belošević 1998: 129, 135, pls. 20.10–11, 21.1, and 23.9.

26 Gunjača 1954. For the earrings in grave 16, see Sokol 2016: 79. Sokol (2006: 119) advances an 11th- to 12th-century date for the cemetery.

There were 128 child graves, a quarter of all graves excavated in the large cemetery Begovača from Biljane Donje, to the southeast from Nin. Some of them have been found on the fringes of the cemetery, others to the north of the church. All of them, however, are of a late date, between the 11th and the 13th century.²⁷ Similarly, 79 out of 88 graves excavated in 1950 to the south from the ruins of the Carolingian church in Crkvina near Biskupija are of children. All of them are of a late medieval date.²⁸ Inside the angle between two apses on the eastern side of the hexaconch in Kašić-Mastirine, there is a child grave (no. 52), but that too has a late medieval date.²⁹

The evidence of child burials in church graveyards of the Carolingian age is therefore meager. This is remarkably similar to the situation in late 9th- and early 10th-century Bulgaria. The cemetery associated with the Great Basilica in Pliska, probably the first church built in Bulgaria after the conversion of Prince Boris to Christianity (863/864), contains 41 graves. The badly preserved remains in grave 2 – a sarcophagus – were apparently those of an 8 to 10-year old child. The grave was found to the east from, and next to the southern apse of the church.³⁰ Grave 22 with the skeleton of an infant (one year-old child) was found at some distance from the main apse.³¹ Another cemetery was discovered in the Outer Town at Pliska, around the church (or chapel) in 'complex A' (feature 40). The cemetery has 24 graves, 9 of which are cist, the other plain, pit graves. Two of the latter are of children. One of them (grave 2) was immediately next to the apse, the other farther away from the church, to the north-east-north.³² A similar situation may be observed in Preslav. Among the 178 graves found around the patriarchal church next to the royal palace, some may be dated between the late 10th and the 13th century. The closest to the apse of the southern aisle, in a position very similar to that of grave 2 in the churchyard associated with the Great Basilica in Pliska, is a child grave (no. 19). This may have well been the first grave in the cemetery, coinciding in time with the extension of the church to the west through the building, at some point during

27 Jelovina & Vrsalović 1981. To be sure, the cemetery's earliest phase is Carolingian, as indicated by the superposition of three graves, the oldest with a pair of Carolingian spurs. All child burials, however, belong to later phases of the cemetery, for which see Sokol 2016: 53–58.

28 Gunjača 1953.

29 Jelovina 1982: 42–43. The grave belongs to Sokol's group 4, which is dated with a (pierced) Venetian coin, see Sokol 2016: 52.

30 Mikhailov 1979: 50; Vāzharova 1979: 71. For the Great Basilica, see Chaneva-Dechevska 1984: 18–25; Vaklinov & Shtereva 1993; Georgiev 1993; Georgiev & Vitlianov 2001: 25–31.

31 Vāzharova 1979: 79.

32 Aladzhov 1993: 87–88, 91, 86 fig. 1.

the second half of the 10th century, of an exonarthex.³³ An infant was also buried on the other side of the apse, next to the southeastern pilaster of the church, but that may be a later grave (no. 52).³⁴ Definitely later, perhaps during the first half of the 11th century, a small chapel was built to the southwest from the patriarchal church. Two child graves (no. 88 and 89) have been found inside it.³⁵ Elsewhere, the absence of children is conspicuous. There are no children among the few burials found inside the episcopal church built shortly before 900 in Silistra, and no mention is made of children among the 37 individuals buried around the 10th-century, small church in Gigen, near Pleven.³⁶ The situation changed radically after the mid-10th century. The relatively large, 10th to 11th-century graveyard around the chapel found in the Outer Town in Pliska, contains 131 graves. Fifty-four of them (41.22 percent) are of children. Six have been found inside the church, with graves 113 and 123 being located closest to the apse (Fig. 13.3). Three of the burials located closest to the apse on the outside are also of children, two of them of *infans* I (1–2 year-old children). Two other child burials are located next to the northeastern and southwestern corners of the church, respectively. One of them is also the grave of a child under the age of 1 (Fig. 13.4).³⁷

Judging from the archaeological evidence, therefore, very few children were buried in the graveyards associated with the first churches built in Croatia and Bulgaria after the beginning of the Christianization process. In some cemeteries, such as that from Crkvina near Biskupija, there are no child burials at all. In others, such as that around the Great Basilica in Pliska, a couple of children were buried much like the adult members of the community – in sarcophagi and in the proximity of the church apse. In that respect, grave 2 in Pliska is directly comparable to the isolated burial of a young girl inside the apse of the timber church in Lopor. In both cases, the privileged position chosen for burial seems to have little to do with the age of the deceased. Instead, it is likely that the children were given special treatment in death because they were regarded as members of elite families. In other words, it was because of their elevated social status that children were buried inside or next to the earliest churches built at the time of Christianization in Croatia and Bulgaria. This is different not

33 Aladzhov 1991b: 73; Ovcharov *et al.* 1991b: 117. According to Aladzhov (1991a: 136), the child, however, may have been buried in an earlier grave of an adult. Scattered bones from the latter's skeleton have been found inside the grave.

34 Aladzhov 1991a: 141; 1991b: 73. A child grave found to the north from the church (no. 22) may also be of a later date.

35 Aladzhov 1991a: 146; 1991b: 73; Ovcharov *et al.* 1991b: 118.

36 Angelova 2007; Atanasov 2012: 550, 554 fig. 72; Genova 1974: 15.

37 Dimitrov 1995: 44 fig. 2, 46 fig. 3.

only from contemporary church graveyards excavated in France, but also from those known from the neighboring region of western Hungary, Moravia and western Slovakia. On several sites in France, children younger than 7 were buried in special zones of the cemetery. For example, at St Denis in Paris, there is a sudden increase in the number of child graves after the modification in the late 9th century of three secondary churches associated with the abbey. Between the late 9th and the late 10th century, children came to represent 44 percent of all graves in their churchyards, with 80 percent for the cemetery associated with one of those three churches, namely that dedicated to St Bartholomew. In that cemetery, the children who died under 5 years of age were all buried to south of the apse, while those under 10 were buried in front of the western façade, with all adults situated about three meters away from the church.³⁸ At Cherbourg, in Normandy, children were buried in the 9th and 10th centuries next to the Church of Our Lady – if under 8 to the northeast, if infants, inside the church. Between the 8th and the 9th centuries, there were no adults buried on the outside of the annex built to the south from the Church of St Estève-le-Pont in Berre l'Etang, near Marseilles. The area around that annex served as a zone reserved for the burial of children who died before reaching one year of age, while children of all ages were buried next to the northern wall of the church, especially next to the apse.³⁹

In the 9th and early 10th centuries, western Hungary and Moravia were also part of the change that brought children into community cemeteries and next to the church walls. During the 9th century, the region around the western end of Lake Balaton in western Hungary was included in the Carolingian Empire, with Zalavár (Mosapurc) as the main power center. A number of churches were built in Zalavár and the influence of Christianity is visible in the organization of the neighboring cemeteries.⁴⁰ Children were buried in family crypts attached to the Church of St Hadrian, or immediately next to the southern wall of the church.⁴¹ Children represent less than a third (26.2%) of all sexed and aged skeletons known so far from 9th- and early 10th-century

38 Perez 2015: 181, 186. See also Perez 2010.

39 Perez 2015: 181, 183, 186–87. At Portejoie (near Rouen, in Normandy), there was a surge in child graves following the building of a church at some point in the 9th century. Those graves have been found along the southern wall of the church; see Treffort 1997: 99.

40 Sós 1987; Szőke 2010b; 2015 (Zalavár (Mosapurc) as the main power center in the region during the Carolingian age). Radnóti 1948; Sós 1966; Mordovin 2006; Szőke 2010a (churches discovered in Zalavár).

41 Szőke 2010a: 578–80, 579 fig. 7.

cemeteries in Moravia and Slovakia.⁴² Many have been found in cemeteries without churches, but those that appear in church graveyards stand out in terms of their special positioning. For example, one of the 17 Carolingian-age burials discovered to the west from the rotunda in Ducové is a child grave. This was the burial located closest to the wall of the church.⁴³ In the cemetery around the rotunda (church 6) excavated in Mikulčice near Brno, in Moravia (Czech Republic), 190 graves have been found, 97 of which are of children and adolescents. Only seven of them were located immediately next to the church, in contrast to nine graves of men and eight of women. In Pohansko near Břeclav (southern Moravia, Czech Republic), there were 300 burials in the cemetery around the Manor Church (church 1). Of those graves, more than half were of children (154 graves). All male and child graves were placed immediately next to the church, some even in the narthex or in an annex built at a later date (possibly around 900) on the southern side of the church. The graves of many children buried next to the church produced very rich gold adornments, which suggests elevated social status.⁴⁴ There were more children (23) than adults (14) buried around the rotunda (church 2) recently discovered in the northeastern bailey of the Pohansko stronghold. Three children (two aged *infans* 1, and another 12-year old) were buried along with two men inside the rotunda. One of the two men, perhaps the most prominent member of the local community was in fact buried on top of one of the young children. The closest to the apse of the church, and in fact partially protruding into it, is the grave of the 12-year old child.⁴⁵ A large cemetery was found around the church in Staré Město-Na válach (to the east from Brno), with no less than 1,634 graves. The narrow strip around the walls of the church (the eaves) was occupied exclusively by child burials, while large graves in burial chambers ('family crypts') and with rich grave goods were farther away from the building. Unlike the rotundas in Ducové, Mikulčice, and Pohansko, as well as the Manor Church in Pohansko, the building in Staré Město was probably not a proprietary, but an episcopal church.⁴⁶

42 Hanuliak 2010: 176–77, 177 fig. 6, 178 fig. 8. Most children buried in church graveyards are older than the age category *infans* 1. It is children older than 3 years that received more attention, both in terms of the layout of the pit and the number and quality of grave goods.

43 Schulze-Dörrlamm 1993: 563.

44 Schulze-Dörrlamm 1993: 579, 584, 578 fig. 22a, 22c, 588 fig. 31c.

45 Čap *et al.* 2010: 198; Macháček *et al.* 2014: 124–30. Conversely, the bones of a newly born have been found in the filling of a male grave outside the church.

46 Schulze-Dörrlamm 1993: 597, 598 fig. 42c. Galuška 1996; 2008; 2015 has advanced the idea that the bishop serving in the church in Staré Město was (St) Methodius.

Why is there such meager evidence of child burials in 9th and 10th-century graveyards in Croatia, but a great number of children in contemporary graveyards in Carolingian Europe? In reference to children buried inside living quarters in Nin, Danijel Dzino has invited comparison with contemporary, intrasite child burials in England.⁴⁷ There is perhaps more to that comparison than meets the eye. In England, by the late 8th century, many members of the elites were buried in stone mausolea inside or outside minsters, as in Repton, Hereford, or Whithorn.⁴⁸ Minster cemeteries contain only a few child burials. This is in sharp contrast to cemeteries dated both earlier and later than the 8th century. In pre-Christian, Anglo-Saxon England, the proportion of graves of infants was comparatively greater in larger than in smaller cemeteries. This is because larger burial grounds may have operated as central places for more than one community, and were therefore important in the “construction and maintenance of tribal cohesion, connecting disparate groups of people spread around a common landscape.”⁴⁹ At Apple Down (6th century) and Westgarth Garden (mid-5th to early 7th century), infants were intentionally placed next to older adults. At Great Chesterford (6th to 7th century), where 46.7% of all graves are of sub-adults, infants were buried away from the central area, sometimes in clusters of graves.⁵⁰ The Viking raids of the late 9th century largely destroyed the minsters, which is most likely why local churchyards appear only after 900. Unlike minster cemeteries and cemeteries without churches, 10th and 11th century, local churchyards have large numbers of children. In other words, children seem to have been deliberately buried in greater numbers in churchyards, just as they were in larger burial grounds of the pre-Christian era.⁵¹

Something similar seems to have happened in Croatia and Bulgaria. In both countries, the number of children buried in church graveyards increases considerably after the middle of the 10th century, a situation directly comparable to that of local churchyards in England. However, even more interesting is the parallel between pre-Christian burial grounds in England, Croatia and Bulgaria. In the biritual cemetery excavated in Velim near Benkovac, 26 out of 118 inhumations (22%) are of children.⁵² The same percentage has been recorded for the relatively large cemetery excavated by Janko Belošević between

47 Dzino 2010: 140. For children buried inside living quarters in Nin, see Kolega 2005: 95; Kolega & Radović 2006; 2015: 36.

48 Sayer 2013: 137. Minster cemeteries began ca. 720.

49 Sayer 2014: 95.

50 Sayer 2014: 98; see also Table 10.1 at p. 83.

51 Sayer 2013: 141.

52 Jurić 2007: 219.

1969 and 1977 in Ždrijac, on the northeastern side of the bay of Nin: 54 child burials out of 246 graves. Many of them belong to the earlier phase(s) of the cemetery, dated to the first half of the 9th century.⁵³ While child burials appear on the western, southwestern, and eastern periphery, groups of such burials are particularly visible in the south (254, 256, 276, and 277, 281 and 282).⁵⁴ Child graves often flank double graves with female and male skeletons.⁵⁵ There are also groups of child burials next to graves of men (e.g., 240 and 241, next to 243).⁵⁶ Four child burials in the south (302, 304, 306, and 307) surround two male graves (303 and 305).⁵⁷

Pre-Christian, biritual cemeteries excavated in northeastern and eastern Bulgaria have also large numbers of children: 43 percent of all graves in Topola, and 63 percent in Balchik. Over one third of all child burials in the latter cemetery are of children under 4 years of age (*infans 1*), with a cluster of seven child burials on the eastern periphery. An adult was buried with an infant in grave 21, while grave 132 included a man, a woman, and a child. Double graves combining a child and an adult have also been found on the periphery of the cemeteries excavated in Devnia-3 and Varna.⁵⁸ In Bdinci, near Dobrich, only 22 out of 318 graves are of children (7%) – a much smaller number than in other cemeteries. However, except grave 194, all are located in the middle of the cemetery, sometimes in pairs, e.g., graves 33 (cremation) and 38 (inhumation), graves 49 (inhumation) and 51 (inhumation), and graves 94 (inhumation) and 95 (inhumation) (Fig. 13.5).⁵⁹ In Kiulevcha, near Shumen, 11 out of 91 burials are of children (12.1%). Four of them (graves 68, 74, 76, and 78) are clustered in the center of the cemetery (Fig. 13.6).⁶⁰

53 Belošević 1980: 22–44; 2007. For the sequencing of the Nin-Ždrijac cemetery, see Sokol 2016: 37–44.

54 Belošević 1980: 36, 40, 42; Sokol 2016: 37, 44.

55 E.g., graves 177 and 192 flanking grave 180. Grave 184 (with a coffin) is next to another double burial (183). Grave 298 is a double burial with a female skeleton, and a child on top; Belošević 1980: 42. In the later phase of the cemetery, children are buried with adults, side by side, as in grave 1; Belošević 1980: 28. There is also a group of three child burials (22, 24, and 25) associated with the grave of a woman (23). Another cluster of four child graves (97, 98, 104, and 107) may also be dated to the 10th and 11th century by means of the pair of silver earrings with grape-shaped pendant decorated with filigree found in grave 97; see Belošević 1980: 32 and pl. 37.10–11.

56 Belošević 1980: 40.

57 Belošević 1980: 42.

58 Komatarova-Balinova 2009: 185–88. In Topola, 52.24% of all child burials are inhumations, while 37.5 percent are cremations. In Obrochishte, 17 out of 26 burials are of children 65.4%; Vážharova 1976: 332–33.

59 Fiedler 1992: 485–86; 487 fig. 131 (cemetery plan).

60 Vážharova 1976: 125; Fiedler 1992: pl. 111.7.

Many child burials produced large numbers of beads (with as many as 50 specimens in grave 50 and 125 in Bdinci). Equally frequent are astragals (sheep vertebrae), some with incised signs. As many as 30 astragals have been found on the right side of the body of a 10-year old child in grave 239 in Balchik.⁶¹ Early medieval, exclusively inhumation cemeteries in southern and southwestern Bulgaria have also relatively large numbers of child burials. For example, 35 percent of the 94 graves excavated in 1967 in Ablanica near Goce Delchev are of children.⁶² Only one of them has grave goods (grave 50, with an earring and 52 beads).⁶³ There are two double burials with children, one of which produced no less than 220 glass beads. Although child graves are spread throughout the entire cemetery, there is a cluster of 5 graves (3–7) on the eastern periphery (Fig. 13.7). Another cluster of 9 graves of children is known from the southern part of the cemetery excavated in Mishevsko, near Kărdzhali (Fig. 13.8).⁶⁴

The conclusion seems inescapable. Before Christianization, children in England, Bulgaria and Croatia were given special treatment in death. The relatively large number of child burials in larger cemeteries such as Nin-Ždrijac, Topola, or Balchik mirrors the situation in pre-Christian, Anglo-Saxon England. The position of child burials, especially when adjacent to graves of adults, suggests that in Croatia and Bulgaria there were family considerations at work. It has long been noted that social differentiation is visible in many of the cemeteries excavated in Croatia and dated to the late 8th and the early 9th century. Shortly before or after 800, spurs, belt fittings, Carolingian swords, battle axes and long battle knives suddenly appear in male graves, while a great variety of earrings and beads characterize the graves of women. Despite the inconsistency in the ratio of furnished and unfurnished graves related to gender, gender division was therefore clearly marked in the types of grave goods.⁶⁵ Because of the emphasis on the use and display of grave goods to mark social differences, Danijel Dzino has recently suggested that the society in pre-Christian Croatia was not strongly stratified.⁶⁶ Judging from the sudden appearance of grave goods – especially weapons and spurs – intense competition was quite common within the late 8th-or 9th-century communities in Croatia. The new elites signaling their status through martial poses and the deposition of both weapons and horse gear in graves may have been responsible for the rise of the

61 Komatarova-Balinova 2009: 192 and 194 fig. 4.

62 Văzharova 1976: 270, 271 fig. 168 (cemetery plan).

63 Văzharova 1976: 284.

64 Văzharova 1976: 297, 298 fig. 186.

65 Dzino 2010: 239.

66 Dzino 2014a: 143, who calls this a 'big-man' society.

first complex polities in the region, a form of chiefdom known as *županijas*.⁶⁷ Age categories may have also come into existence at this point, which were responsible for the differential deposition of goods in child graves, and perhaps for the cluster of children in certain parts of the cemetery. Although only the large cemetery in Nin-Ždrijac lends itself to this type of analysis, it seems that the few child graves flanking double graves with female and male skeletons represent a new phenomenon, perhaps linked to the acquisition of family plots inside the cemetery. Burying children within the community cemetery may therefore have been a way to claim territory. There are no comparable studies of pre-Christian cemeteries in Bulgaria but the situation does not seem to be radically different. To be sure, unlike Croatia, weapons and dress accessories are rare, and most typical finds are offerings of entire animals (often poultry, rarely cattle, horses, or dogs) or of meat, eggs, and beverages in ceramic containers. Moreover, offerings in cremations were not different from those in inhumations, as animal bones found with cremations are typically not cremated, which suggests that a similar pattern of deposition and, presumably, similar 'rules' applied to both cremations and inhumations.⁶⁸ In addition, the deposition of animal bones, eggs, and pottery operated in the same way for adults – men and women – and for children. Despite great variations in the proportions of child burials within cemeteries, the general impression is that children were buried along with adults in community cemeteries, much like in Croatia. However, the clustering of the child graves in the center (Bdinci, Kiulevcha) and eastern part (Balchik, Ablanica) of the graveyard suggest that, unlike Croatia, the status of children did not necessarily depend upon individual families, which apparently did not 'own' specific plots within the cemetery. The lack of sharp social differentiation points to a society in which the politically active elites (*boyars*), which are otherwise known from the written sources, did not use funerary displays to mark the social distinction separating them from the rest of society.⁶⁹ More recently, a few early 8th-century elite graves have been found either singly or in small groups. They are different in many respects from both contemporary and later graves in community cemeteries.⁷⁰

67 Dzino 2010: 152.

68 Fiedler 2008: 157.

69 Curta 2009a: 419–20. See also Zhekov 2003.

70 Stanilov 2014.

On the basis of a thorough analysis of community cemeteries, Uwe Fiedler has isolated a number of changes that he attributed to Christianization: the change in grave orientation from north-south to west-east; the disappearance of cremations; the almost complete disappearance of grave offerings (animal bones and eggs); and the dramatic increase in the deposition of dress accessories, particularly in female graves.⁷¹ It appears, therefore that in Bulgaria sharper social distinctions, particularly those based on gender, were only introduced after the beginning of the Christianization process. By contrast, in Croatia, such social changes seem to have pre-dated the inception of Christianization by one or two generations. In both cases, however, the social position of children was altered as well. While children were buried in pre-Christian community cemeteries, there are very few, if any, child graves in the cemeteries associated with the first churches built after the beginning of the Christianization process. This is very different from the contemporary situation elsewhere in Christian Europe, including the neighboring periphery of the Carolingian Empire (western Hungary and Moravia). Why is there no Croatian or Bulgarian parallel to the church graveyards with lots of children excavated in Zalavár, Ducové, Mikulčice, Pohansko, and Staré Město? To be sure, all cemeteries associated with the first churches of early medieval Croatia and Bulgaria are of smaller size. The girl buried in the apse of the timber church in Lobor may be directly compared with the grave of the 12-year old child partially protruding into the apse of the rotunda in Pohansko. The first church discovered on that site was aptly called Manor Church, under the right assumption that the enclosed complex of buildings with the church in the middle was the residence of the local ruler, a *palatium* of sorts.⁷² Following that parallel, one may regard the Church of St Mary in Crkvina as the mausoleum of the local elite.⁷³ However, there are substantial differences. The church graveyard around the rotunda in Pohansko has more children than adults, while the girl buried in the apse of the timber church in Lobor is the only child grave known from that site.

Differences in size are also crucial for the comparison between late 9th-century Moravia and Bulgaria. The two children buried next to the apses of two different churches in Pliska are directly comparable to those buried under the rain gutter around the presumably episcopal church in Staré Město. With its

71 Fiedler 2012: 111. Fiedler 2008: 157 notes that several community cemeteries have produced evidence of Christian graves dug on the fringes of the pre-Christian burial grounds.

72 Macháček 2008.

73 Čap *et al.* 2010: 190; Dzino 2014a: 142.

over 1,600 graves, the latter, however, dwarfs both cemeteries in Pliska, which have only 41 and 24 graves, respectively. Small cemeteries, therefore, tend to lack child graves, or have only a few. Could this be explained in the same terms as those applicable to pre-Christian cemeteries in Anglo-Saxon England? In my opinion, the answer must be negative, because small church graveyards in Croatia and Bulgaria are elite, not community cemeteries. In other words, the absence of child graves may be the result of a deliberate strategy employed by the elite families responsible for the building of the first churches in Croatia and Bulgaria. To differentiate themselves from the rest of the population, they may have chosen to reject the previous concepts underlying burial in community cemeteries. Because the latter were open to non-elite members of the society, as well as to children, both categories were excluded from the newer graveyards established around and inside churches. If, as it seems probable, the Great Basilica in Pliska was a royal church, possibly used by Boris himself, then those who were buried around it must have been members of the royal family. Given that Boris' baptism and attempt to Christianize the population were met with fierce resistance, including that of his own boyars, there is no surprise that the graveyard of the Great Basilica looks more like an exclusive burial ground, to which only a few had access.⁷⁴ The same may be true for the church in Crkvina, the graveyard of which stands in contrast to that of the Church of the Holy Cross in Nin. However, even the latter included only a small number of child graves, none of which were located near the building of the church.

The situation changed radically in the course of the 10th and in the early 11th century. Church graveyards opened after ca. 900 have conspicuously larger numbers of child graves, many of which have special locations within the cemetery, either within the church, or immediately outside it, next to the walls. The second phase of the cemetery around the Church of the Holy Cross in Nin, the cemetery in Lopuška Glavica, and that around the chapel found in the Outer Town of Pliska are good examples of this change. The most likely explanation is the spread of Christianity within the fabric of the local society, and the adoption of two interrelated ideas: that Christians formed a new family, all members of which had access to the church graveyard; and that baptized children who died young could intercede for their parents, relatives, and neighbors buried within one and the same cemetery. Those ideas underpin the new cemetery layout and are responsible for the 'privileged' access that children were given to burial next to, or even inside the church. In other words,

74 Ziemann 2007b (the rebellion of the boyars against Boris).

in both Croatia and Bulgaria, both the new concept of family and the new attitudes towards children percolated into the fabric of society between 100 and 150 years after the beginning of the process of Christianization. True church graveyards therefore appear only at that stage, together with the idea of giving children a special position in the cemetery. This may well be regarded at least as a partial result of a successful Christianization. Around 900, there were only a few child graves in cemeteries associated with churches recently built in the Balkans. By 1000, however, attitudes towards children, especially in death, were not very different from those that have been predominant in western and central Europe since the Carolingian age.

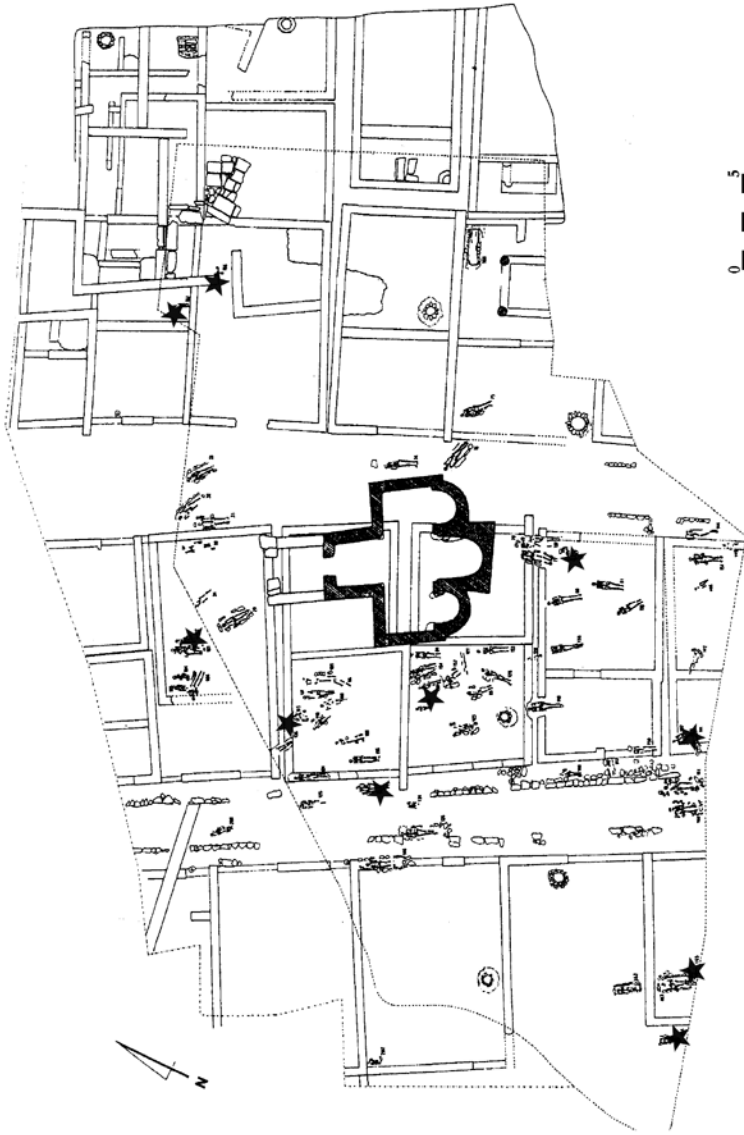


FIGURE 13.1 Child burials (stars) of the earliest phase of the graveyard around the Church of the Holy Cross (Sv. Križ) in Nin. Modified by author, after Belošević 1999

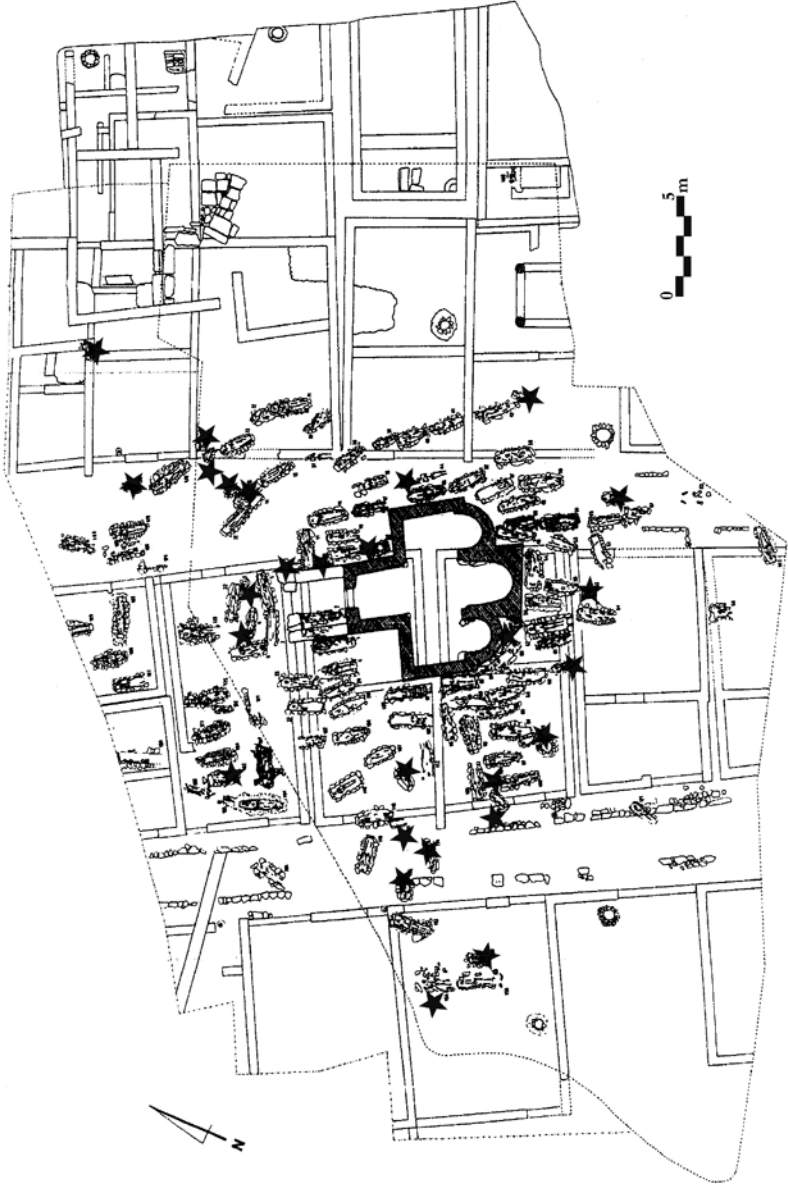


FIGURE 13.2 Child burials (stars) of the later phase of the graveyard around the Church of the Holy Cross (Sv. Križ) in Nin. Modified by author, after Belošević 1999

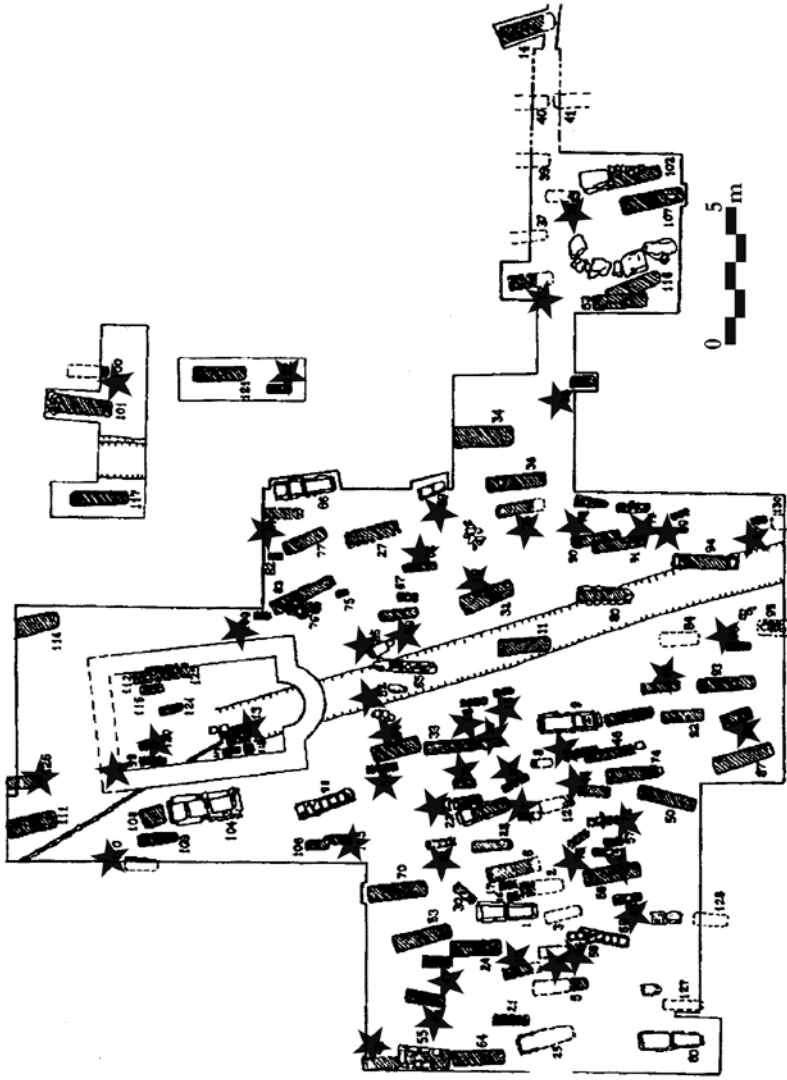


FIGURE 13.3 Child burials (stars) within the graveyard around the chapel discovered in the Outer Town of Pliska. Modified by author, after Dimitrov 1995

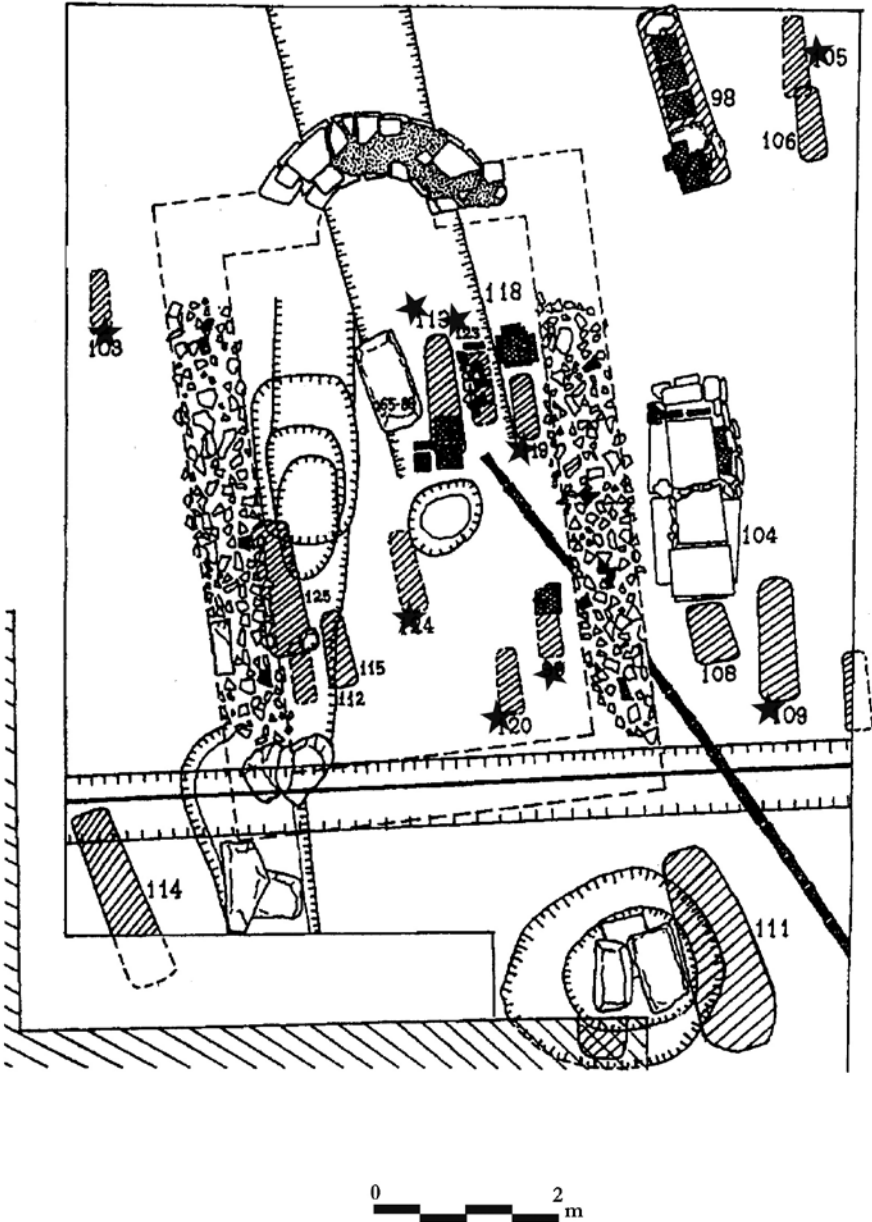


FIGURE 13.4 Child burials (stars) inside and outside the chapel discovered in the Outer Town of Pliska. Modified by author, after Dimitrov 1995

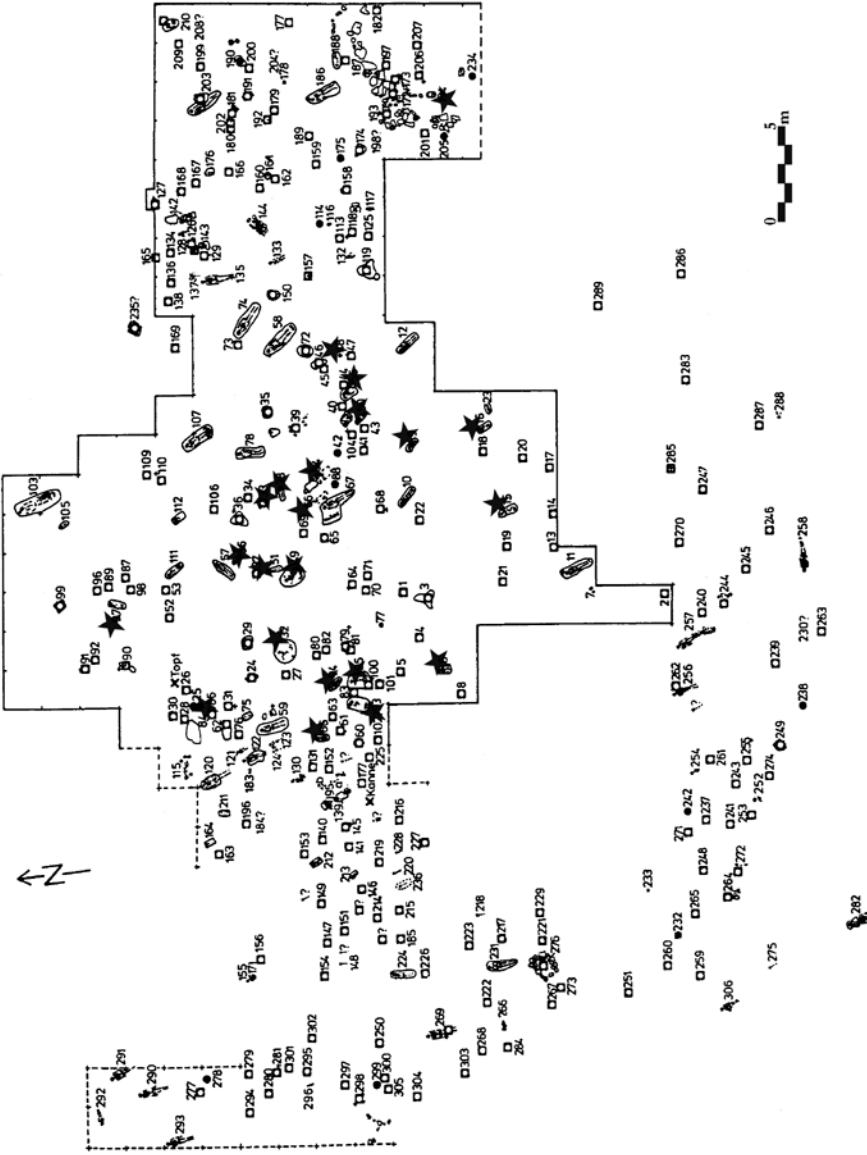


FIGURE 13.5 Child burials (stars) inside the birritual cemetery excavated in Bdinici. Modified by author, after Fiedler 1992

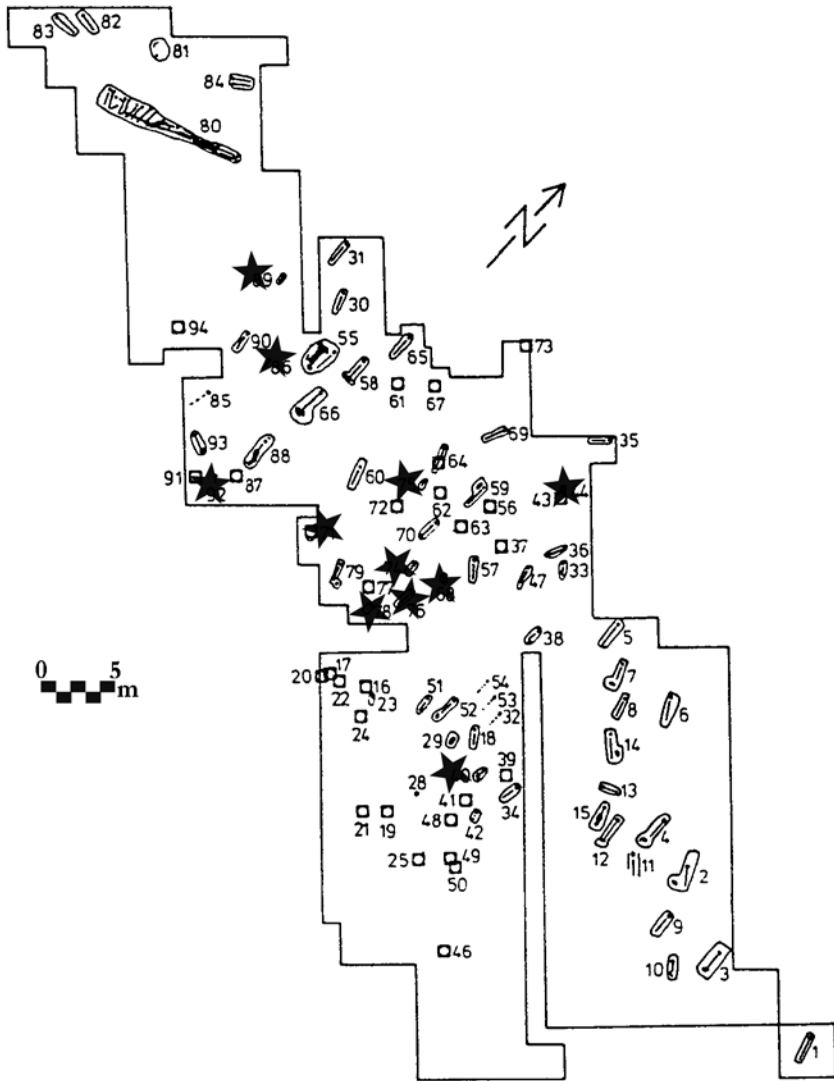


FIGURE 13.6 Child burials (stars) inside the biritual cemetery excavated in Kiulevcha. Modified by author, after Fiedler 1992

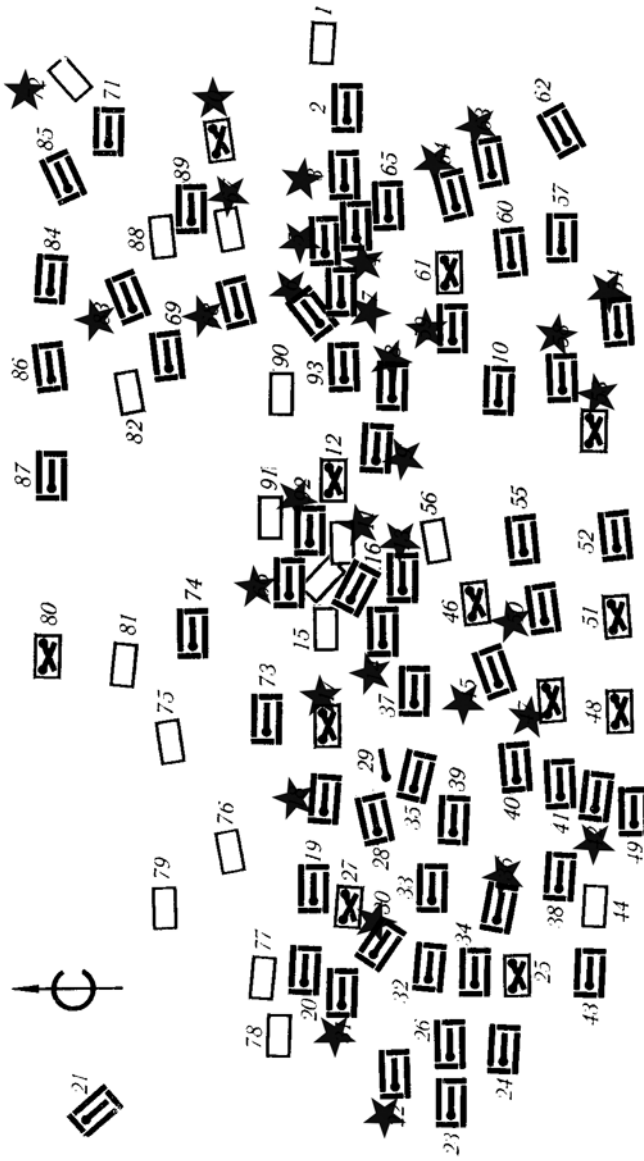


FIGURE 13.7 Child burials (stars) inside the cemetery excavated in Ablanica. Modified by author, after Vázharova 1976

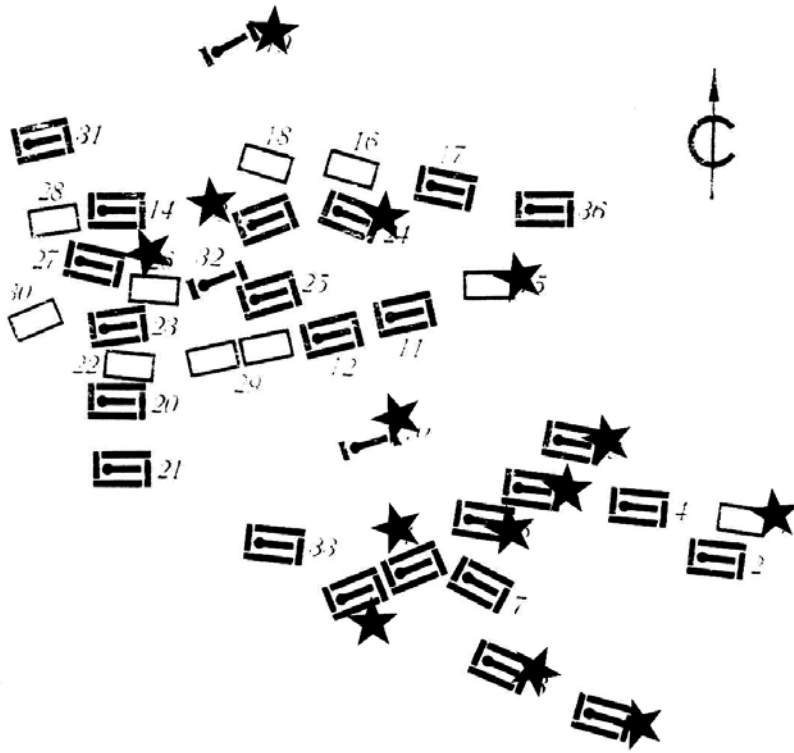


FIGURE 13.8 Child burials (stars) inside the cemetery excavated in Mishevsko. Modified by author, after Vázharova 1976

Trade and Culture Process at a 9th-Century Mediterranean Monastic Statelet: San Vincenzo al Volturno

Richard Hodges

For Colin Renfrew in his eightieth year

Trade cannot be assumed; it has to be proved ... Already the subsistence of any prehistoric society can be known to us, with a little trouble, on a quantitative basis. With a quantitative knowledge of its trade also, we shall come much closer to an understanding of the factors which may work towards stability or change in the society

RENFREW 1969: 152

•••

Charles's empire was an empire of the mind – or minds: a collective enterprise.... The state was always a congeries of statelets, to which power devolved

NELSON 2015: 137

∴

San Vincenzo al Volturno in the 9th century was an exceptionally rich Mediterranean mountain monastery that commanded a statelet. The Benedictine monastery was located at the junction between Mediterranean polycultural farming zones and high mountains midway between the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian Seas.¹ Being located close to the source of the river Volturno, it had extensive lands reaching down to Campania and the Bay of Naples, but it had no less property on the Adriatic Sea littoral (Fig. 14.1).² The monastery

1 Hodges 1993; 1995; 1997; Hodges *et al.* 201a.

2 Wickham 1995.

by the 9th-century was associated with ‘landing places’ on both coasts, though their scale and character remains unknown.³ Significantly, it had extensive salt lagoons at Lesina, south of the modern Adriatic Sea port of Termoli. These lagoons may be the key to the most significant commodity imported over a long-distance to the monastery during its zenith in the 9th century: salt-water fish.⁴ Saltwater fish comprised about half the fish being consumed in the monastic refectory at dinner the night before it was sacked on the 10th October 881. Otherwise, 9th-century imported goods in this Beneventan monastery with strong Carolingian affinities were confined to prestige goods or treasure as well as materials made in the monastery’s workshops as counter-gifts.⁵ The extensive excavations at San Vincenzo al Volturno – by far the largest excavations of any early medieval site in Italy – show that 9th-century long-distance trade in the central Mediterranean was minimal by comparison to contemporary long-distance trade networks in the Levant or even in the North and Baltic Seas, and was principally direct trade between ‘partners’ in the form of gifts.⁶

Why, then, do modern archaeologists and historians of the Mediterranean Sea and the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian Seas, in particular, seek to promote the importance of long-distance trade networks in the 9th century when the evidence scarcely exists? The lessons of recent research in prehistory from Renfrew’s landmark essay in 1969, cited above, should provide us with a benchmark for discussion and research.

1 A Benedictine Monastery

In 783 San Vincenzo was wracked by dispute (Fig. 14.2).⁷ Many of the monks wanted to support the Frankish king, Charlemagne, and probably by extension, his ideological reforms of Benedictinism – a cornerstone of the court’s correction.⁸ The abbot was opposed. Charlemagne heard of this dispute, which in itself reveals much about later 8th-century Latin Christendom. He asked the pope to intervene, which he did. The result was to be a change of leadership at San Vincenzo and a new direction, broadly pursuing the reforms of Charlemagne’s administration. The monastery gained support from the Frankish king and within twenty-five years the small integrated Lombard monastery had been

3 Marazzi 2015.

4 Carannente *et al.* 2007; 2008; Hodges 2014.

5 Hodges 2012a: 87–88; cf. Wickham 2010.

6 Hodges 2012b.

7 Costambeys 2008: 160; Hodges *et al.* 2011b.

8 P. Brown 2003: 438.

refashioned as a European ideological franchise around a massive new abbey church and two separated precincts covering about 10 hectares. Its monastic community more than doubled in size.⁹

This new early 9th-century monastic city was in effect a massive ritual area combining two different and separated zones – the cloister adjoining San Vincenzo Maggiore – and a royal Beneventan palace complex (Fig. 14.3–4). Both zones reveal a huge emphasis upon consumption in terms of monumental construction and decoration. Spolia in the form of reused Roman building materials and inscriptions as well as chestnut roofing timbers brought from the Matese mountains¹⁰ show a commitment to procuring and transporting materials to create the grandiosity and ethos of the franchise renaissance. Moveable materials were now procured by the monastery on a minor industrial scale to serve this centre of consumption. Large amounts of glass waste (mostly spolia) were imported to be made into lamps; metals were imported to be made into fittings to hold the lamps, for example, and in the form of nails to secure roofing timbers, doors and furniture.

It is tempting to see this new monastery as a sudden explosion of trade and exchange. Nothing is further from the truth. This was a proprietary monastery probably operating at the behest of the Beneventan court, in partnership with the Carolingians as an ideological central-place like neighbouring Monte Cassino.¹¹ It served as a liminal bastion to restrict papal expansion into Beneventan territory on the one hand, and equally served the Carolingians as ‘soft power’ to reinforce the Beneventan Principality against repeated Byzantine incursions on its southern flank. San Vincenzo in Charlemagne’s lifetime may have been an urban phenomenon by the standards of this non-urban world, but it served a society that was tribal and not based upon market values.

Central to its operations was its leadership, an abbot whose two-storey palace was located just inside the cloister, close to the junction with the Beneventan palace complex.¹² In this unfortified monastery, locks and keys are telling indicators.¹³ The lower rooms of the abbot’s palace were locked. By contrast the monks occupied a large undifferentiated dormitory with no private spaces. Living in aristocratic grandeur, the abbot almost certainly kept the monastery’s treasury close to hand in an annexe to his palace. Its contents, like

9 Hodges *et al.* 2011a: 448–49.

10 Squatriti 2013: 150.

11 Hodges *et al.* 2011a: 433–49.

12 Hodges 2016.

13 Christie & Hodges 2016.

the celebrated treasury of Monte Cassino looted in 843,¹⁴ as we shall see, are significant indices of the pre-market conditions in which these great central-places operated.

Twenty years after Charlemagne's death, in the 830s, San Vincenzo began to change (Fig. 14.5).¹⁵ New investment was made in the abbey-church, inserting a richly decorated ring-crypt and a vaulting atrium, like those to be found since the papacy of Paschal I in Rome, and alongside this, the workshops were enlarged. A vicus to accommodate monastic workers, located close to the monastery, almost certainly dates from this period.¹⁶ The most important aspect of this new initiative was not so much to enlarge the consumptive character of the monastery but to attract new aristocratic visitors through the door to the atrium as pilgrims, and cultivate them as donors to the monastery.

By the mid-9th century all work on the great monastic buildings had ceased, but it is clear from two major assemblages of refuse found in the excavations that the monastery was far from dormant (Figs. 14.6–7). The emphasis was now upon its management of moveable objects rather than monumentality. This binary shift in the economy of San Vincenzo is strikingly clear and a benchmark for similar practice elsewhere in Italy. A midden from behind the workshops¹⁷ and another found in the river Volturno next to the monastery's kitchens¹⁸ show the staggering material wealth of the monastery in the mid to later 9th century. As it invited new donors to provide it with lands throughout southern central Italy, it became a city in the sense that it produced glass, metals, ceramics and bonework on a scale consistent not only with satisfying its own needs but, significantly, as countergifts to its elite donors of land in order to retain their spiritual relationship ahead of providing these individuals and families with burial rights on the hillside above the monastery (Fig. 14.8). By these methods San Vincenzo cemented an important set of relationships with the emerging aristocratic (early feudal) elite in Beneventum and beyond.¹⁹ Monte Cassino almost certainly pursued the same adaptive strategy, as did other major Benedictine monasteries in the Italian peninsula. In economic terms, it had changed course, serving not just the court but also a wide network of aristocrats and others. It was these diverse relationships and the lands involved that attracted the odium of the Neapolitan bishop, Athanasius,

14 Citarella & Willard 1983.

15 Hodges *et al.* 2011a; 2011b.

16 Bowes *et al.* 2006: 93–186.

17 Hodges *et al.* 2011a.

18 Marazzi & Luciano 2013.

19 Hodges 2012a: 86.

that prompted and culminated with the monastery's sack in October 881.²⁰ San Vincenzo like Monte Cassino had become rivals for power in the immediate post-Carolingian world.

The archaeology of San Vincenzo after ca. 840 shows clearly that the production of fine metalwork, enamels, books, glassware and ivories as well as ceramics was strategic to its ritual survival. The temptation to identify the monastery as a market place serving local communities is emphatically challenged by the material poverty of its associated rural settlements in the upper Volturno valley.²¹ The prestige goods made in the monastery's workshops were given as gifts and operated as powerful symbols in support of San Vincenzo alongside its investment in creating associated decorated shrines throughout its lands, such as Olevano (Fig. 14.9).²² San Vincenzo, then, was not the hub of a large market network; instead, it evolved to become the hub of a network of direct partnerships that strategically replaced declining economic support provided by the Beneventan court.

So what was imported by way of Mediterranean connections? By far the most important import was saltwater fish, enabling a community exceeding a hundred monks to sustain the diet specified following the Benedictine Rule far from the seaways.²³ The consumption of fish procured from its own distant coastal estates in this mountain context, without doubt, emphasized the will to pursue the strict ideology of the Rule. Herein was a real index of the monastery's continuing role as a consumer centre. Otherwise utilitarian imports are uncommon. Imported amphorae are almost absent.²⁴ Imported alpine soapstone vessels occur in small numbers in the monastic workshop.²⁵ The monastery's key imports were continued quantities of glass waste as well as metals for making counter-gifts. The one ivory figure comes from a poor ivory off-cut.²⁶ The economy of the monastery for the most part was either based upon local resources especially for foodstuffs²⁷ or founded upon transactions to procure specific quantities of raw materials.

There is an exception, of course. The objects in San Vincenzo's treasury like the celebrated list of objects documented in Monte Cassino's ill-fated treasury indicate other kinds of direct partnerships that speak to a miniscule

20 Hodges *et al.* 2011b.

21 Bowes *et al.* 2006: 187–267.

22 Di Muro 2007.

23 Hodges 2014.

24 Marazzi & Di Cosmo 2016.

25 Patterson 2001a.

26 Hodges *et al.* 2011a: 266–69.

27 Hodges 2014.

trade in exotica. As best we can tell, the treasury was attached to the abbot's house at San Vincenzo. This was comprehensively sacked and plundered in 881.²⁸ Its contents were almost certainly removed by the raiders as those at Monte Cassino's treasury were taken by local lords in 843. Some small indicators, however, help us to reconstruct what kind of treasures were possessed by the monastery. A jade pommel found in dumps below the location of the abbot's house may have been part of a gift originating in China.²⁹ Likewise fragments of two Abbasid polychrome bowls again found below the abbot's house might suggest a similar origin.³⁰ Quite the opposite source is indicated by the enamelled escutcheon of a bronze hanging bowl that originated in Ireland (fig. 14.10).³¹ The discarded escutcheon was found in the river Volturno close to the entrance to the monastery. None of these extraordinary objects attest to any consistent stream of imported goods, any more than the treasures ascribed to Monte Cassino's 'lost' but listed treasury. These were almost certainly gifts made directly to the monastery or more probably its abbots by visitors from the eastern Mediterranean or from northwest Europe. These high-level gifts served a different economic function to the counter-gifts manufactured in the monastery's workshops but in combination in the absence of imported amphorae and the presence of saltwater fish in abundance to a highly centralised gift-giving society in which long-distance trade was a marginal activity. Added to this, the absence of coinage other than a few silver coins³² deployed in the enamel-working processes and possibly reused Roman coins bears witness to the limited market in which this great central-place operated during the later 8th and 9th centuries.

2 Is San Vincenzo al Volturno an Aberration or an Index of Economic Scale and Diversity?

So, what does this tell us about Adriatic and Tyrrhenian Sea trade? It is tempting to interpret San Vincenzo al Volturno as an aberration because it is in a mountain region that is poor today. This fails to account for its size and the scale of its monumentality as well as its rich cultural status in the region. Rather, it is more appropriate to scrutinize the urban and rural archaeology of the later

28 Hodges *et al.* 2011b.

29 Mitchell 2001.

30 Patterson 2001b: 329–30 fig. 10, 134, as do similar fragments from Fulda, Germany: Ludowici 1994.

31 Abate 2015.

32 Rovelli 2009.

8th and 9th centuries throughout the length and breadth of Italy and a pattern emerges. Coinage is largely absent and before the later 9th century ancient Italian cities were no more than polyfocal places with a strong sense of identity but a remarkably minimal material culture.³³ Sacred monumentality, of course, characterizes the epoch in many parts of Italy in terms of 9th-century church-building with prominent stone furniture, whereas industrial activity like that in the Levant or in northwest Europe is virtually absent.³⁴ Similarly, long-distance trade is confined, judging from the archaeological evidence including the striking absence of hoards, to minimal quantities of prestige goods. To this picture must be added the remarkable absence of coinage in use in peninsula Italy. All this evidence serves to emphasize that the landing places on the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian coastlines, and on small navigable rivers like the river Volturno.³⁵ were almost certainly small scale periodic places – administered settlements of perhaps a few post-built buildings – until at least the mid-9th century, and scarcely larger before the turn of the millennium.³⁶ One exception appears to exist. Comacchio, at the mouth of the river Po, while bigger in scale was nonetheless miniscule by North Sea standards. Its size within a Mediterranean context is perhaps explained by the number of important monasteries and places within the corridor of its fluvial catchment.³⁷

Northern Italian trade emanating from Comacchio and later Venice within the upper Adriatic Sea certainly involved a commerce in prestige items as diverse as swords (to serve the Croat burial culture) and church furniture exported to strategic places in the Croatian and Montenegrin littoral.³⁸ Directed prestige goods trade characterized this network, but it should not be exaggerated. It was modest, for example, by Baltic Sea commerce of this period. Southern Adriatic Sea networks with Byzantine support also took off in the 840s, as the excavations at Butrint attest, but here too the scale can be readily exaggerated.³⁹ In quantitative terms, in both instances, – by the standards of early 9th-century emporia as diverse as Dorestad or Ribe operating within North Sea networks, there was a massively underdeveloped inter-regional economy in the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian Seas.⁴⁰

33 Hodges 2015.

34 Hodges 2012a: 117.

35 Marazzi & Frisetti 2016.

36 Petralia 2005; cf Hodges 2012: 96–100; 102 for a discussion of North Sea Type A landing places.

37 Hodges 2012b; Hodges forthcoming; Negrelli 2017.

38 Hodges 2012a: 133–34.

39 Greenslade & Hodges 2013.

40 Hodges 2012a: 108–10.

3 Nationalism and the Continuity Trope

Why have modern archaeologists and historians sought to dismiss the decline of seaborne trade between Late Antiquity and the later first millennium, accentuating continuity rather than discontinuity? As we have seen at San Vincenzo al Volturno, limited trade in goods undoubtedly existed in this period, and the large-scale procurement of materials for ideological reasons is incontestable. There are references, too, to landing places, and clear reasons to believe in highly restricted networks of economic partnerships. But all of this is stunningly different – indeed primitive – by contrast with the mighty volume of Roman-period seaborne trade or Mediterranean commerce after ca. 1000. The answer to these questions lies in the desire to read the sources from a positivistic point of view and to reduce the discontinuity indicated by the archaeology of the later 7th and 8th centuries to a marginal status. Reverse these interpretations of the sources and it begins to appear as if the texts have been read to serve modern allusions to the continuity of nation states in the central Mediterranean. Nationalism within a Europe of nation-states extending back to abstract origins in Charlemagne's empire, tacit or otherwise, cannot be readily dismissed in interpreting the sources to read continuity. In addition, of course, the narrative of continuity as opposed to discontinuity of post-Roman economic life is a modern approach by those largely unused to civil turbulence or to any form of radical social change. To re-read these sources through a filter of change as opposed to stasis we have to go back to those who experienced the First and Second World Wars. Not unnaturally such a re-reading often disarms modern archaeologists and historians.⁴¹

In the search for post-nationalist history after the First World War, and an appreciation of how the precedents of the early medieval Mediterranean set the terms for European and New World development in the early modern period, the 28-year old Fernand Braudel in his seventh year of teaching in a French Algerian lycée went to hear the 68-year old Henri Pirenne lecture.⁴² Pirenne, speaking without notes, so Braudel recalled, gestured continuously, opening and closing his hand as he sparked a vision of a unified Mediterranean, then its ebb and flow, its expansion and closure, its insularity and boundlessness, its complex diversity and yet its unity.⁴³ Pirenne's lecture presaged his posthumous book, *Mohammed and Charlemagne*.⁴⁴ This inspiring encounter

41 Hodges forthcoming.

42 Marino 2011: 391.

43 Braudel 1972b: 452.

44 Pirenne 1937.

in 1931, according to Braudel, with its ideas about closure after the Moslem invasions, became a guiding motif for Braudel's *Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, published eighteen years later.⁴⁵ The end of the Roman pond, so it appears, provided the catalyst to a reading of pre-Modern Mediterranean Europe that in the later 20th century has eclipsed even Pirenne's enduring thesis.

Thirty years after the death of Fernand Braudel, his shadow over Mediterraneanisms remains as strong as ever. In large measure, however, as Cyprian Broodbank has shown in his homage to the French master,⁴⁶ we are the first – the pivotal – generation coming to terms with the astonishing assemblage of data about the archaeology and ecology of the region, unavailable when Braudel was describing 'his' Mediterranean in the late 1940s. Although by no means as coherent in its detail as the written sources, there now exists the means to re-evaluate the Mediterranean and its Adriatic and Tyrrhenian Seas. Certainly, these new tools compel us to be as bold as Braudel! The archaeology of 9th-century Mediterranean trade, like the archaeology of Mediterranean monasteries such as San Vincenzo al Volturno at its nascent zenith, shows us that there is a new history to be written, one that Henri Pirenne, a survivor of First World War incarceration and primitive camp economies, instinctively grasped from relating his experiences to his reading of the sources.

45 Braudel 1972a.

46 Broodbank 2013.

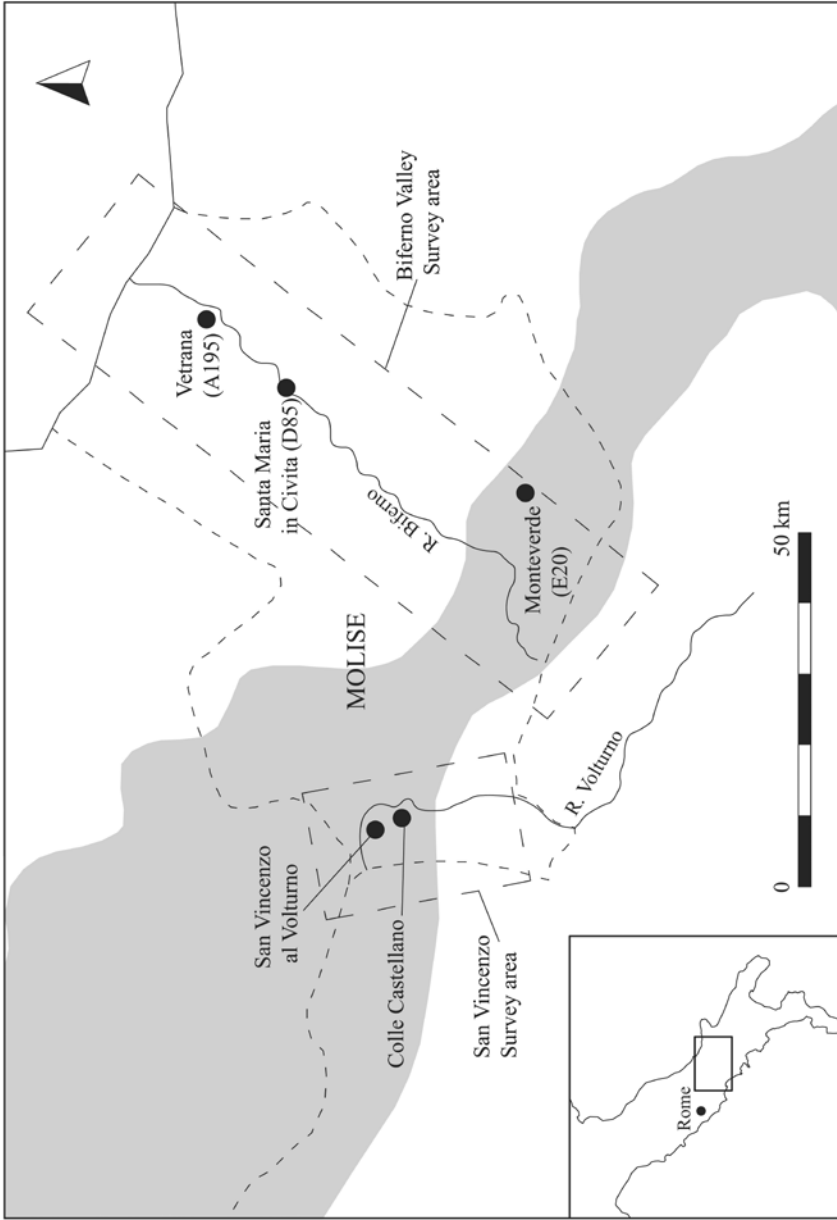


FIGURE 14.1 Map showing the location of San Vincenzo al Volturno, and the location of the Biferno and Volturno valley field surveys
DRAWING BY SARAH LEPPARD, REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF THE AUTHOR

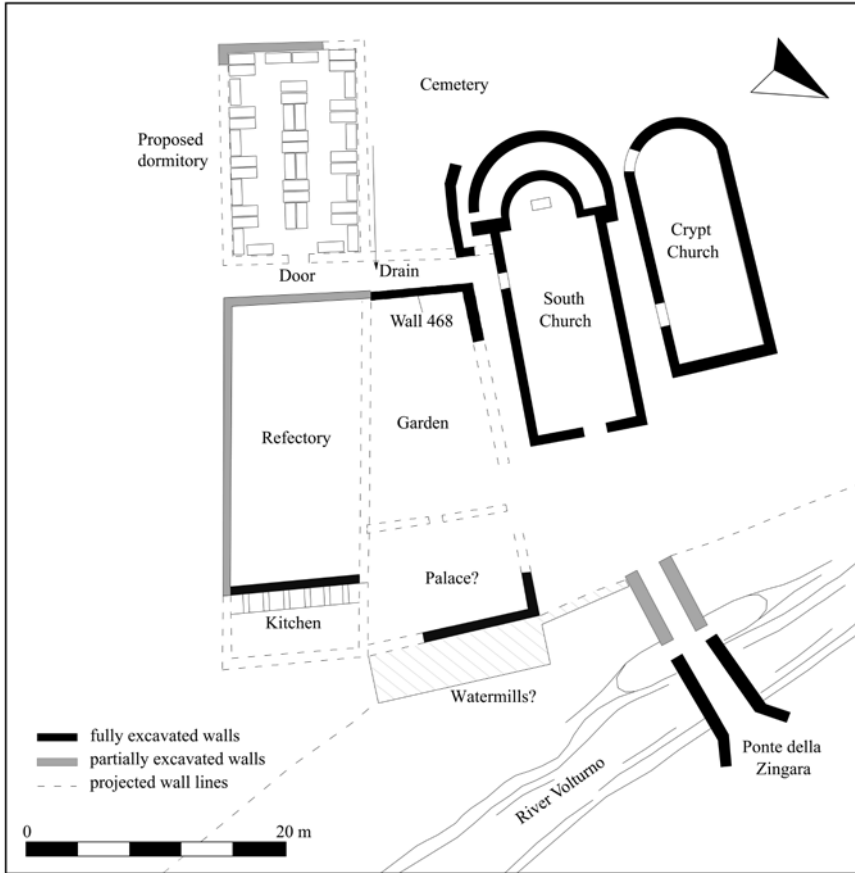


FIGURE 14.2 A hypothetical plan of San Vincenzo al Voltorno in the later 8th century (Phase 3c)

DRAWING BY SARAH LEPPARD, REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF THE AUTHOR

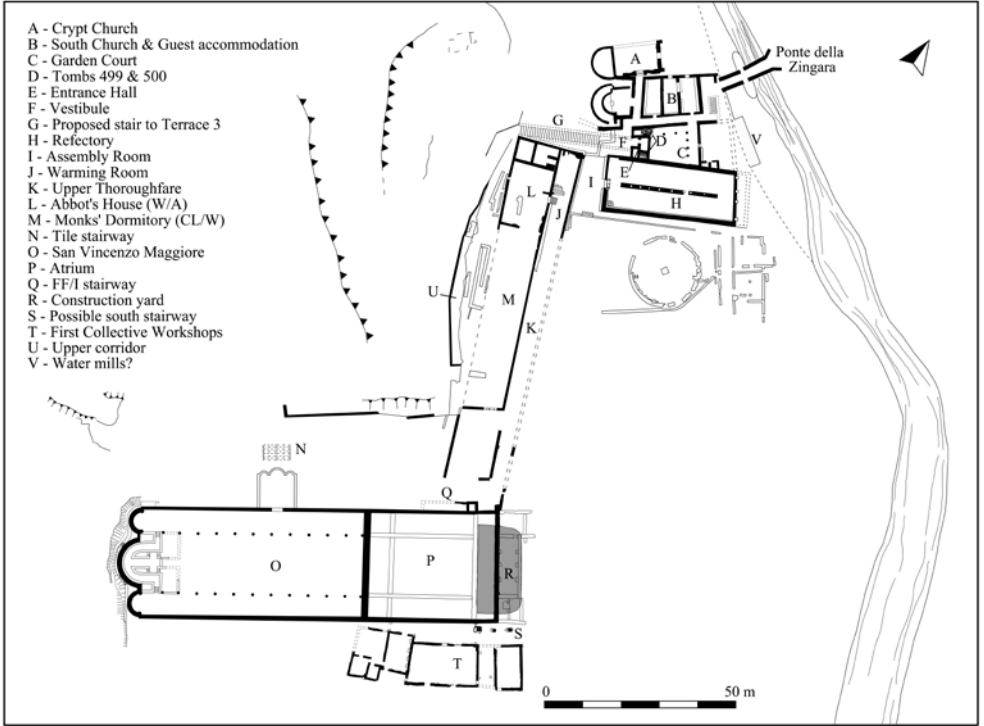


FIGURE 14.3 Plan of San Vincenzo al Volturno in Phase 4, ca. 800, showing the named buildings in the monastery

DRAWING BY SARAH LEPPARD, REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF THE AUTHOR

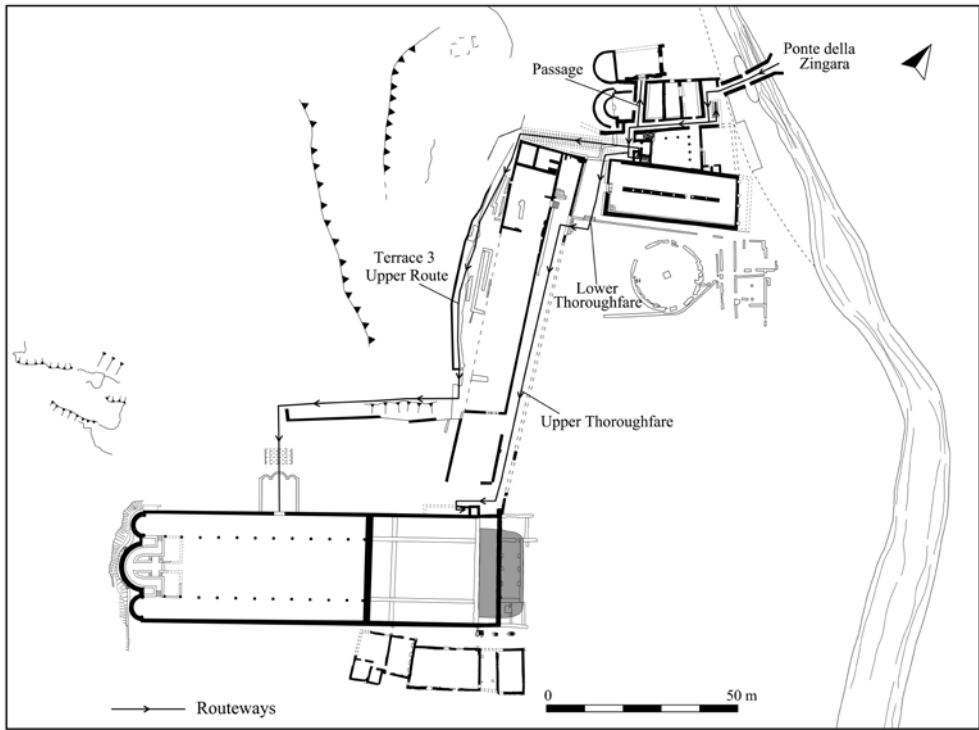


FIGURE 14.4 Plan of San Vincenzo al Volturno in Phase 4, showing the two principal thoroughfares
DRAWING BY SARAH LEPPARD, REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF THE AUTHOR

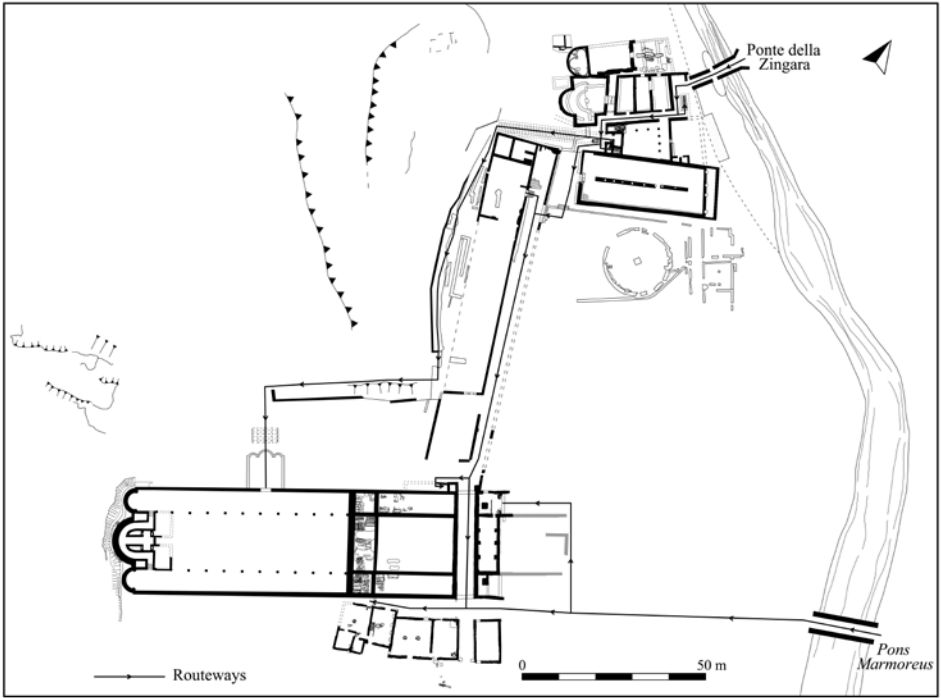


FIGURE 14.5 Plan of San Vincenzo al Volturno in Phase 5a1, ca. 830–840
 DRAWING BY SARAH LEPPARD, REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF THE
 AUTHOR

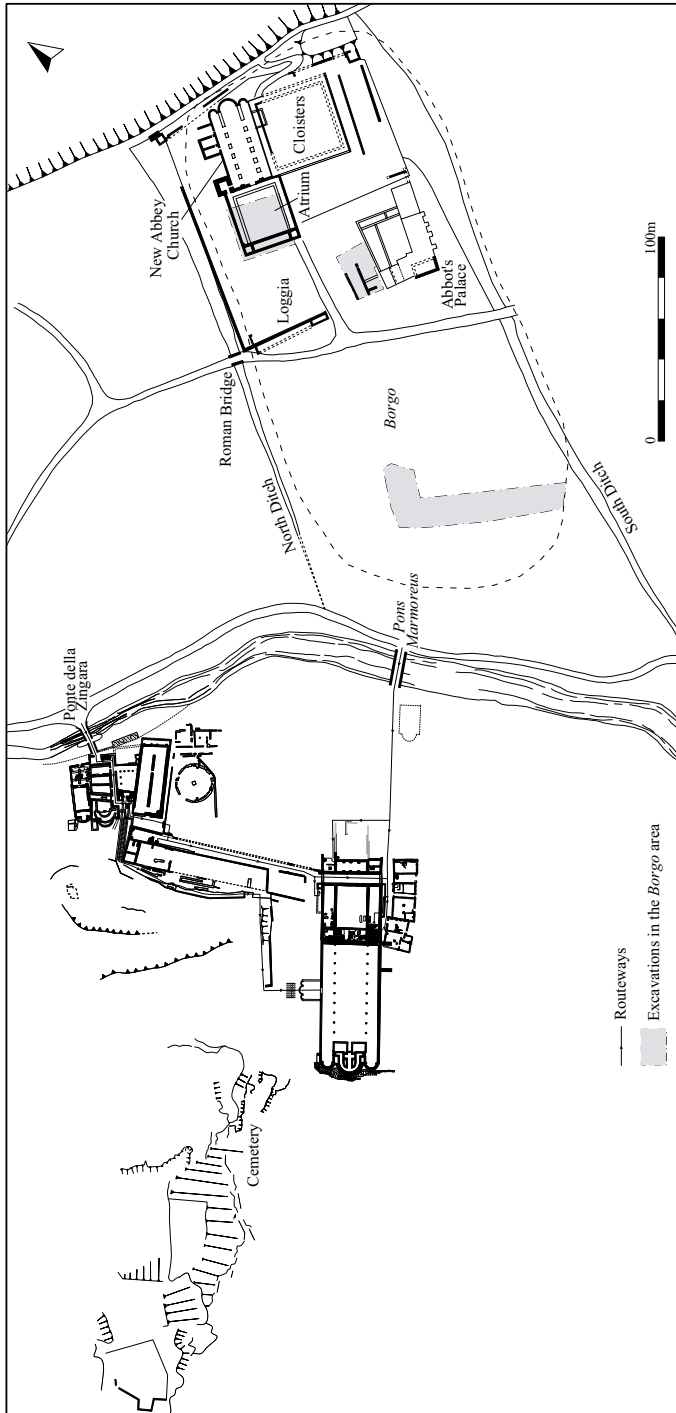


FIGURE 14.6 Plan of San Vincenzo al Volturno and its borgo in Phase 5a2, ca. 840–850
DRAWING BY SARAH LEPPARD, REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF THE
AUTHOR

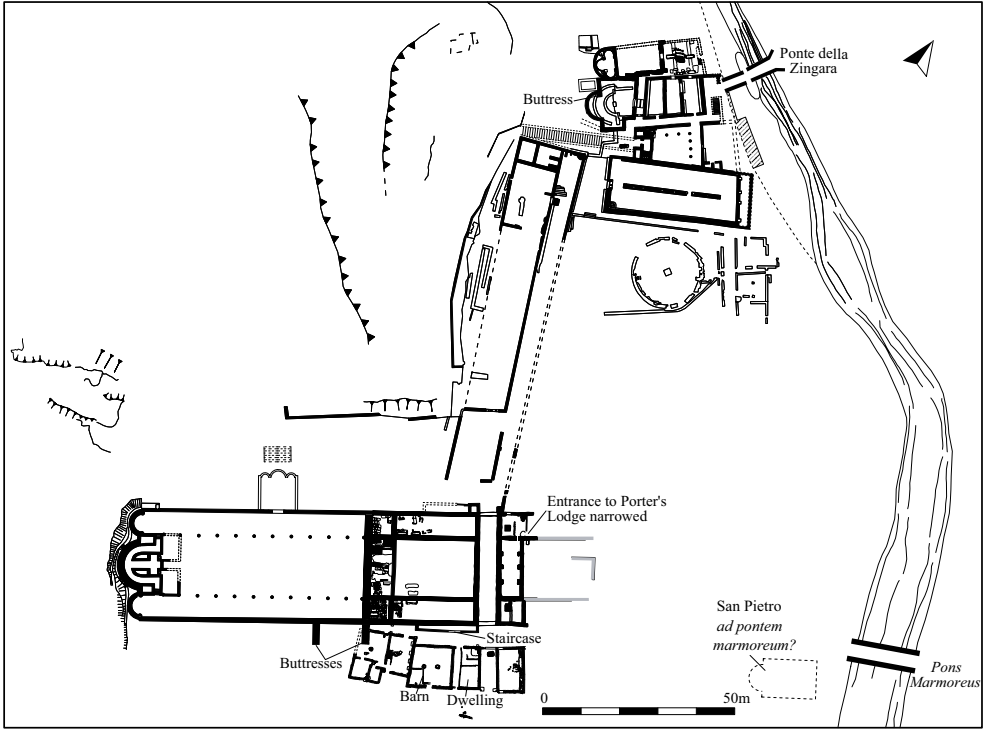


FIGURE 14.7 Plan of San Vincenzo al Voltorno in Phase 5a2, ca. 840–850
 DRAWING BY SARAH LEPPARD, REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF THE
 AUTHOR

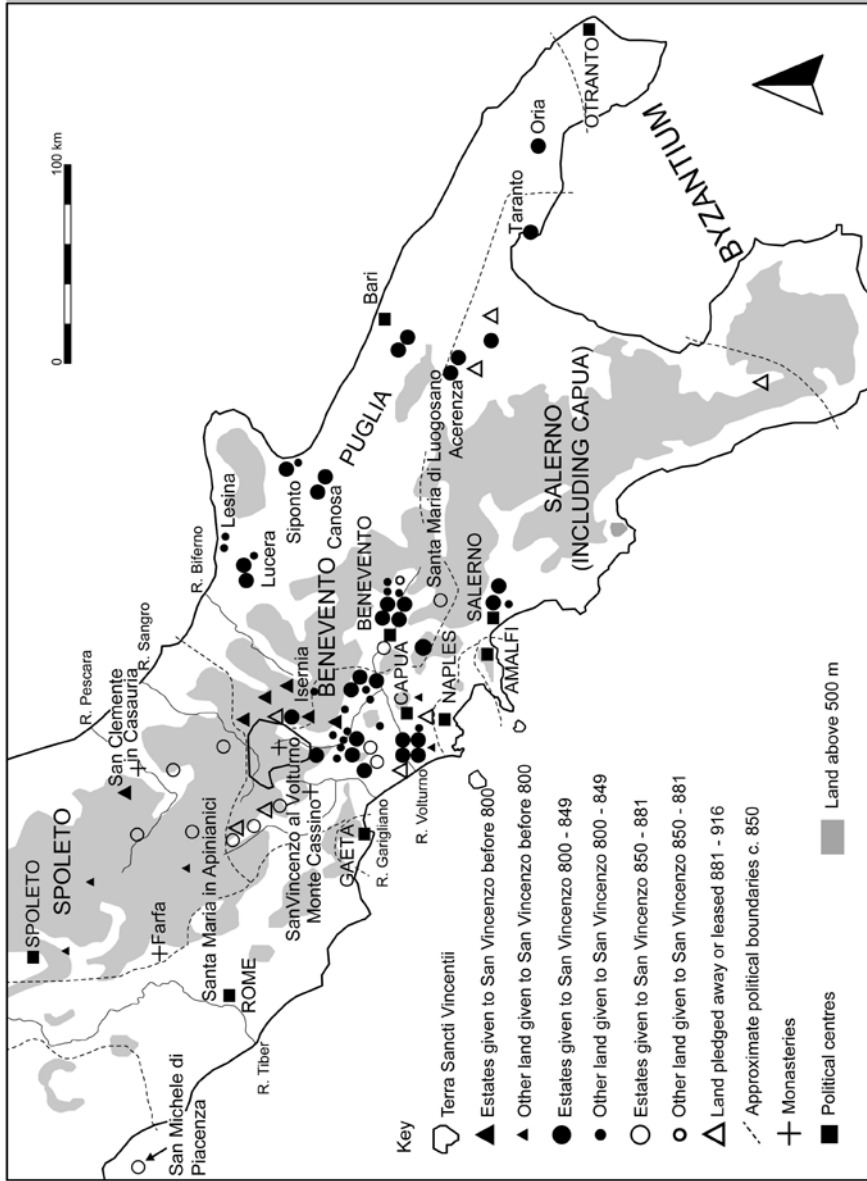


FIGURE 14.8 A map showing San Vincenzo al Volturmo's 9th-century estates in southern Italy



FIGURE 14.9 The 9th-century stuccoed chapel B in the cave sanctuary of Olevano sul Tusciano, showing Dr. Alessandro Di Muro and Silvia Galvan, conservator

©PHOTOGRAPH BY AUTHOR



FIGURE 14.10 An escutcheon for an Irish hanging bowl found in the river Volturno. Modified by author, after N. Abate 2015: fig. 2

“Croats and Carolingians”: Triumph of a New Historiographic Paradigm or Ideologically Charged Project?

Trpimir Vedriš

The subtitle of this paper originates from quotes by two renowned archaeologists. The former, a ‘triumphant’ one, comes from one of the editors of the catalogue of the exhibition “Bizantini, Croati, Carolingi”,¹ the Italian version of “Croats and Carolingians”.² The latter, and the one that opened a new vista on the subject, is a quotation of a renowned archaeologist related in a private conversation. In spring 2015, during a very pleasant evening spent in the company of American colleagues, I was asked what these “Croats and Carolingians” were about? Before I managed to respond, one of my collocutors replied that it was: “an ideologically charged exhibition in Croatia”. The comment surprised me, and to explain this surprise, I have to add another personal note, which I believe largely reflects the perspective of a younger generation of Croatian scholars present in this volume. Namely, members of the generation born in the 1970s and early 1980s and ‘academically socialized’ in the mid – to late 1990s were as a rule fascinated by the exhibition. Notwithstanding the frustration of not being able to find a copy of the catalogue soon after the exhibition moved to Italy, I saw it simply as a great enterprise. Thus, as the surprise dissipated, the dismissive response made fifteen years later caused me to reconsider my initial enthusiasm, stimulating reflection on the background, agendas and the outcomes of the project.³

The point of departure of this brief assessment is that this volume, discussing common ground on migration, integration and connectivity on the southeastern frontier of the Carolingian Empire, contains contributions of three groups of scholars. The first is a core group of the original “Croats and Carolingians crew” (Ančić, Milošević, Jurković, Jakšić to whom it is also justifiable to add Budak), a group of Croatian ‘baby boomer’ scholars, who were in their 40s in

1 Bertelli *et al.* 2001: 21.

2 Milošević 2000a.

3 More detailed analysis will be published as a separate paper.

2000.⁴ Their papers in this volume represent evaluation of their own project offering them a chance to reflect upon the positions they held fifteen years ago. Another group of authors (Basić, Bilogrivić, Filipec, Dzino, Petrak) were students or entering the scholarly arena at the time of the exhibition. Their positions show how the main messages of “Croats and Carolingians” were ‘received’ and ‘implemented’ by the Croatian scholars of the ‘next generation’.⁵ Finally, a group of non-Croatian scholars (Curta, Hodges and Štih) represent international scholars dealing with this period and this area, incorporating the results of the “Croats and Carolingians” into wider early medieval perspectives.

While it is less fair to say that early medieval Dalmatia has not received extensive treatment in international (especially Anglophone) scholarship,⁶ the region – for long – lay outside the purview of both Carolingian experts and Byzantinists.⁷ Thus, this area, situated ‘half-way between Aachen and Constantinople’ – once caught between the two conflicting empires entered the focus of international politics at the turn of the 8th century.⁸ As the peripheries and borderlands find their place in the historical investigation, the salient issue is the place of post-Roman Dalmatia within multiple peripheries.⁹ In this context, the emergence of the Croatian Principality between the early and late 9th century is undoubtedly one of the key issues. Traditionally this process was discussed in the framework of the migration/Christianization/establishment of the state. Notwithstanding the conservative aura, these three fields lost none of their relevance, being supplemented in this volume with more insightful and important perspectives, such as connectivity and integration.

1 Ideologically Charged Project?

The symbolic importance of the early medieval past for the present Croatian identity – as almost elsewhere in Europe – can hardly be overstated. The

4 For the notion of “Croats and Carolingians” as a ‘generational project’ cf. Introduction and Dzino in this volume.

5 The notion of the ‘generation’ is somewhat vague as it refers to scholars born between ca. 1970 and 1984.

6 Curta 2013: 145–46; Ančić 2014b: 72. Referring to Wickham 2005, Budak 2018b: 184 n.4 commented that “the most recent example is the otherwise brilliant book (...) with only one mention of Croatia in a footnote and no reference to Dalmatia whatsoever”. Cf. also Budak and Dzino in this volume.

7 Until the 1990s, the gap was (only) partially filled by the translated texts of the local scholars such as e.g. Ferluga 1976; 1978.

8 Ančić *et al.* 2018.

9 For similar discussion – in the context of the 10th century Byzantium – Gaul & Menze 2018.

Croatian ‘national biography’ shaped during the 19th-century process of ‘nation-building’ helped not only to create institutions and scholarly disciplines, but continued to feed on their work. Speaking of the early medieval past, archaeology, art history and history are today, and much more were so in the late 1990s, seen by the general public as important agents in the shaping of the national identity. In that sense, “Croats and Carolingians” was often perceived as a display of early medieval material assembled to prove that Croatia belonged to western Europe since its beginnings. As we have shown in the Introduction, this was not the only state-funded project of this type. It is thus almost unavoidable that the opinion of the exhibition will very likely reflect one’s perception of the broader political context in which it was organized. To put it bluntly, the external observer who considers the dissolution of Yugoslavia to have been a negative thing, consequently implying Croatian independence to be equally bad, will probably tend to view the exhibition as a nationalistic project meant to provide political legitimacy through manipulation of history.¹⁰ On the other hand, the observer who saw the dissolution of Yugoslavia in a less negative perspective will be less inclined to see the exhibition in this light.¹¹ Be it as it may, the exhibition stood as the highpoint of a whole series of scholarly activities in the 1990s, as well as the source for related publications in the 2000s.

In this light, the central aim of the projecting in presenting a significant volume of Carolingian-era finds was to break down the existing historical narratives connected only with the significance of Byzantium, and re-orientate research on the early medieval eastern Adriatic towards the Carolingian world. As noted in the introductory chapter to this volume “the importance of the notion of the ‘Croatian return to Europe’ cannot be neglected as one of the possible ‘background agendas’ of the exhibition.”¹² The collapse of Communism and Croatian secession from disintegrating Yugoslavia inevitably required new ideology.¹³ Thus, judgment on the ideological tenets should, as Dzino has clearly demonstrated in his chapter, primarily be read against its predecessors as the alterity from which the new identity politics emerged. Detecting

10 While he never reacted to the exhibition in his writings, this type of bias is clearly visible in the work of John V.A. Fine, cf. Fine 2006. For the review of the latter see Budak 2011. For the deeply flawed perception of ‘Croatness’ as newly devised ideological shibboleth see Bellamy 2003.

11 Although not referring to the exhibition, the words of Le Goff (1999) illustrate this position.

12 For the notion of ‘return’ and ‘discourses on Europe’ in Croatia around 2000, see Maldini & Pauković 2016; particularly Pauković 2016.

13 Malešević 2002 (the relation between the phenomenon of a ‘new state’ and ideology).

'Yugoslavization' of the past in post-war Yugoslavia, Dzino has shown the importance in both Yugoslav states of the: "common history and shared destiny required to one day form the Southern Slav (Yugoslav) state".¹⁴ With the collapse of the state that imposed this basic framework, the existing narratives expectedly collapsed. The exhibition "Croats and Carolingians", in Dzino's view, thus primarily reflected "new identity-discourses in an independent Croatia."

Without a doubt the element of 'ideological framing' incorporated in writing of new historical narratives was present in this exhibition, but should one perceive "Croats and Carolingians" as nothing more than an 'ideologically charged project'? As the paper of Ančić shows, the attempts to approach the issues from non-ideological perspectives by some non-Croatian authors make very problematic interpretations, going as far as to dismiss the existing primary sources to fit pre-determined ideas.¹⁵ In this view, the attempt to eradicate 'ideologically charged history' risks ending with perspectives which are no less ideological. One of the main problems with judgment of the project is obviously deeply rooted in conflict and misunderstanding between 'local' and 'global' history where 'local' history is often dismissed from 'global' perspective as nationalistic by default.¹⁶

Facing such a situation, the intentions of the project to "break down the existing historical narratives" overall seems not to have achieved much from an international perspective. However, the fact that it was barely referred to (especially in Anglophone academia) should perhaps, instead of succumbing to the call of conspiracy theory, be explained also by a series of technical shortcomings. The original catalogue in Croatian had extremely poor distribution, and its Italian counterpart fared only marginally better. A whole set of expectations of the team gathered around the exhibition never came true. However, to describe its outcomes as failure would be unfair. Not only did the agendas of "Croats and Carolingians" fair differently in different disciplines and national scholarly communities, but the material exposed in Split and Brescia attracted substantial attention, finding its way into other exhibitions and publications. These borrowings, as a rule, were not, however, accompanied by the exhibition's 'historiographic software'. To what extent this was the result of fair judgment of the scholarship involved, and what role did non-scholarly factors play in the failure remains to be discussed. With many authors taking previous

14 For different views, see Budak 2004: 128–31; 2009.

15 See Ančić in this volume.

16 See more in Introduction and Dzino in this volume; Dzino 2014b: 90–92; Vedriš 2010: 26–27.

South Slavic paradigms as the normal/normative position, the ‘new narrative’ has obviously been seen as overtly nationalistic.

Speaking of the interplay between what might be called the ‘ideological’ and ‘scholarly’ dimensions of the project, it is very important to stress here that the ‘new historiographic paradigm’ championed by “Croats and Carolingians” did not fit traditional national historiography. Moreover, in this respect, it can even be considered subversive in three very important points. First, it was almost revolutionary in accepting Margetić’s de-construction of the once unquestionable arrival narrative preserved in the *DAI*. The interpretation of the late migration not only ‘erased two centuries of national history’ but laying stress on the central role of the Carolingians in (re)Christianization of Dalmatia and Pannonia also went against strong ecclesiastical tradition supporting the widespread notion of the ‘thirteen centuries of Christianity among the Croats’. Finally, “Croats and Carolingians” left out the traditional category of a nation (or people) from the interpretation of the settlement narrative. Thus in a sense, empty space that opened in the breakup of a framework which supported old paradigm allowed emancipation of new ideas which were far from representing nationalistic wishful thinking. Without neglecting the fact that the exhibition was a child of its own time, if one is to evaluate the real scholarly significance of the project, one should focus on the evidence and its interpretations. So, briefly, what is this ‘new perspective’ and how do should we evaluate it?

2 Nuova prospettiva storiografica?

The ‘political core’ of the ‘historiographic perspective’ offered by “Croats and Carolingians” was summarized by G.-P. Brogiolo roughly as follows: The Croats were among the other Slavic gentile warrior groups moved by Charlemagne from the Elbe-Vistula region. These warrior groups formed the core of the local aristocracies in post-Roman Dalmatia. As a result, during the period from 822–888, the region between the Drava and Adriatic became controlled by the Croats as vassals of the Emperor and thus a part of the Kingdom of Italy, hierarchically dependent of the markgraves of Friuli.¹⁷

The core of this paradigm, originally formulated by Ančić,¹⁸ has been elaborated in different fields by other participants. The present volume indicates that the proponents of the view heralded by “Croats and Carolingians”,

¹⁷ Bertelli *et al.* 2001: 21.

¹⁸ Ančić 2000.

most obviously Ančić and Milošević, kept their basic positions, yet their initial perspectives have been to an extent modified and refined. In order to provide additional arguments Ančić has extended his original interpretation in two papers published in 2005 and 2016 in order to argue for continuing a Carolingian/Lombard role in shaping the early Croatian polity.¹⁹ For him, needless to say, the migration is nothing like traditional *Völkerwanderung* but rather a coordinated movement of ‘small warrior elite groups’ settling between the Carpathian-Pannonian plains and the Adriatic between the end of the 8th and the very beginning of the 9th century. He is convinced that such an interpretation is still the best explanation for the changes in material culture in Dalmatia. Another, perhaps even more significant, development of his position is his view on the role of Byzantium. While earlier, as a staunch proponent of the ‘Carolingian thesis’, Ančić often downplayed the Byzantine influence, his more recent work has put greater emphasis on the activities of the Empire in the Adriatic which not only led to the Treaty of Aachen, but continued some decades afterwards.²⁰

Similar to Ančić, Ante Milošević argues in favour of the Croat migration as an historical event occurring in the late 8th/early 9th century, yet his original views from “Croats and Carolingians” are here presented in the wider context of contemporary social changes on the Carolingian frontiers. His chapter in this volume focuses on the appearance of artefacts representative of the Germanic animal style in the Adriatic hinterland. Milošević explains those artefacts in a sophisticated way as important symbols that displayed identity amongst the elites formed in recently established frontier societies on the eastern frontiers of the Carolingian empire. In his opinion they bear witnesses to new social networks established in a short-lived and fluid frontier zone characterized by the establishment of new social networks, social mobility and demographic change brought by small warrior elite groups entering the Adriatic hinterland from northern Europe. It is significant that Milošević, as Ančić has, in arguing the ‘Carolingian thesis’, has argued for the survival of the autochthonous populations and late antique cultural continuity in certain areas – calling for a more nuanced vision of the micro-regional differences in post-Roman Dalmatia.²¹

Miljenko Jurković, another veteran of the ‘Carolingian cause’, in his paper on early medieval Istria and its integration in the Carolingian realm²² has also kept his earlier position, while softening explicit views characteristic of papers

19 Ančić 2005; 2016.

20 Ančić 2014b; 2018.

21 Milošević 2003a; 2003b; 2008; 2012b.

22 Recently Štih 2018.

from the early 1990s. Until the 1990s, early medieval Istria was perceived as ‘Byzantine’ by historians, art historians, and archaeologists. Large-scale archaeological surveys, excavations and comparative analyses were undertaken at the beginning of the 1990s, and instead of a Byzantine Istria, they unearthed the emergence of a Carolingian Istria in the early Middle Ages. Further research in the last fifteen years has concentrated on a few important problems – the settlements and the transfer of forms and functions. Comparative analyses have shown similar patterns of urban development of different types of settlements developing as result of those integrative processes. Jurković also explores the typology of early medieval churches in Istria. Looking into the typology of the churches, he asks whether the typology could have been transferred even earlier, during possible Lombard involvement in Istria after the fall of the Exarchate of Ravenna in 751.

The development of Jurković’s views on the Lombard influences in art and architecture in Dalmatia/Croatia should be read parallel to Neven Budak’s historiographic treatment of the period. The discourse of the ‘Croatian Carolingian renaissance(s)’ can also be dated back to the 1990s with Budak being among the first to formulate this perspective in his monograph from 1994. Summarizing different aspects on what he termed a ‘Carolingian renaissance’, the traces of which are detected in the rise of extensive building activities, the significant rise of epigraphy and the emergence of a ducal chancellery, Budak dated to the mid-9th century.²³ At the same time a number of early medieval churches in the Dalmatian hinterland²⁴ were, on the basis of analogy with churches in northern Italy, interpreted as having served for the Ambrosian liturgy. The idea of a direct north Italian influence on so-called ‘Early Croatian Art’ was no novelty in the field. Revitalized in the 1990s, the thesis gained much prominence in the local historiography. Based on the general supposition that the liturgical function determined the architectural form, the main proponents of the thesis concluded that chosen Croatian examples illustrate the presence of the Ambrosian liturgy in the 9th century Croat Principality.²⁵ The confidence in the overwhelming Carolingian influence, as noted by Budak, went as far as interpreting the building of the rotunda of the Holy Trinity in the Byzantine capital of Dalmatia, as the result of the Frankish rule in Zadar.²⁶ This inspiring, and to a certain extent brave hypothesis promoted by Jurković,

23 Budak 1994: 28, see also Budak in this volume.

24 Crkvina-Biskupija, Stupovi-Biskupija, the cathedral of Biograd, Church of Holy Saviour at the source of river Cetina and Lopuška Glavica.

25 Jurković 1992a; 1992b; 1995b; 1997; 2000b.

26 Jurković 1995c: 120; 1996: 237–255.

gradually disappeared from his texts towards the end of the 1990s and the explicit references to Ambrosian liturgy seem to have given way to more general terms such as ‘acceptance of architectural types of the broader area, notably northern Italy’, which the author, nevertheless, connected to the process of Christianization and the arrival of the missionaries.²⁷

As the result of scholarly exchange in the 1990s,²⁸ we ended up with two subsequent renaissances reflected along the east Adriatic coast and its hinterland. The earlier one, termed ‘Liutprand Renaissance’ was introduced into Croatian scholarship by Miljenko Jurković and Nikola Jakšić.²⁹ Jakšić was one of the original contributors to the exhibition “Croats and Carolingians”, exploring the relationship between the process of Christianization and the activity of masonry workshops, which shed light on the existence of networks between the local elites in 9th century Dalmatia and its deeper hinterland. In this context, Jakšić has also explored settlement patterns in the hinterland of Zadar, and detected the survival of late antique communities. His views on the issue of continuity gained much support from his detection of the survival of the early Byzantine system of fortification through the 7th and 8th centuries.³⁰ Yet, his views on the importance of north Italian influences have not disappeared from his work, as his paper in this volume clearly demonstrates. Jakšić’s paper in the present volume should also be read in the broader context of Carolingian activities in the Adriatic. His argument that the earliest cult of the patron saints of Zadar, most importantly St Chrysogonus and St Anastasia, originated in northern Italy will undoubtedly stir much debate, as it not only contradicts the traditional view of their origin, but also changes the way earlier scholarship has interpreted it. Jakšić’s attempt to prove that the cult of the patron saints of the Byzantine Dalmatian capital came not from Constantinople but from the Friulian hinterland is proof that he, as one of the original contributors to the “Croats and Carolingians” exhibition, still has a point to prove.

27 Jurković 2000a. This ‘progressive caution’ seems to be justified. Namely, the comparative perspective on the liturgical customs in contemporary northern Italy does not seem to fully maintain the opinion. The complex issue of the relation between the three-apse/altar churches which appeared in eastern Mediterranean in the mid. 6th c. and their heirs in late 8th c. Italy seems to be far from clear.

28 See the Introduction.

29 Jurković 1995a, esp. 144; Jakšić 2010; 2014. See also Jurković & Caillet 2007–09; Jurković & Basić 2009; Jakšić 2015: 103–31.

30 Jakšić 1993; 1995b; 2008.

3 Reception and Application: The Next Generation and the External View

Detailed analysis of the reception of the project “Croats and Carolingians” would obviously make this paper grow out of all reasonable proportion, yet it is worth noting some of the most obvious contours of the reassessment offered by this volume. To start with the younger generation of Croatian scholars. One might say that Goran Bilogrivić challenges the views of Ančić and Milošević that the settlement of the Croats, however one exactly defines this identity, was a result of Carolingian politics. Departing from the elaborate discussion on early medieval ethnic identities he remains unconvinced that grave finds from the late 8th through the 9th century can be taken as proof of the arrival of a new population. Instead Bilogrivić shifts the discussion towards the thesis already advertised by Hodges and Curta (and Dzino’s characterizing of ‘Dark Age’ Dalmatia as a world of ‘Big-men’) that the artefacts of Carolingian provenance are to be interpreted as the results of trade or gifts. While his perspective challenges the position held by Ančić and Milošević, the argumentation of Bilogrivić would have been impossible without critical dialogue with their work. Another characteristic, perhaps even more important, of his approach is positioning of the arguments into the much broader methodological framework of recent international scholarship.

Departing from a very different methodological standing, another archaeologist of the ‘next generation’, Krešimir Filipec reflects another important development in the field by focusing on what he terms ‘Lower’ Pannonia in the Carolingian period. While the usage of the terms ‘Upper’ and ‘Lower’ Pannonia remains very problematic in an early medieval context,³¹ major progress has been made in the research of Carolingian-age southern/south-western parts of the Carpathian basin in the last fifteen years. The archaeological record shows that the Avar-Frankish war in the late 8th century caused a demographic collapse in this area, but also that life was soon reinstated. Comparative material evidence provided by recent archaeological excavations shows very clearly that the Pannonian elites quickly integrated into the imperial templates of power, in particular by accepting Carolingian Christianity.³²

31 While Gračanin 2018 takes this usage for granted, Takács 2018: 225–27 shows it to be rather problematic. For the critical assessment see also Ančić 2016: 221–23.

32 Useful and up-to-date overview of the most recent Carolingian finds in the area is offered by Gračanin 2018.

Ivan Basić and Marko Petrak demonstrate a shift towards a more balanced historical approach which reassesses the role of Byzantium in the Adriatic, but without evidence of an ideological context burdened by earlier historiography within the Yugoslav political construct. Basić provides important new arguments which shed new light on the functioning of the Byzantine northern Adriatic networks in the 7th and 8th century. It bears traces of his earlier publications, but also those of the recent work of Francesco Borri and Neven Budak, which show that northern Adriatic elites maintained mutual relationship as ‘neighbors and relatives’, looking to Constantinople to legitimize their position.³³ These Byzantine outposts in the eastern Adriatic, Shepard’s ‘bunker cities’, were not surrounded in the 7th and 8th century by hostile Slavic tribes, but rather by defensive zones made by descendants of the late antique population, which were controlled directly or indirectly by those elites – as the research of Milošević and Jakšić indicates.³⁴

Florin Curta and Richard Hodges, along with Francesco Borri, as already outlined by Budak,³⁵ are among the international scholars whose work represents the most significant novelty in the research of the eastern Adriatic coast. While not engaging with the central argument of “Croats and Carolingians”, these contributions represent a continuation of their work on the eastern Adriatic. A number of Curta’s works have engaged with the eastern Adriatic, echoing the views of Milošević and Jakšić, that material the evidence indicates continuity rather than change in the 7th century. His views were initially shaped by contributions from the volume *Croatia in the Early Middle Ages*, but Curta’s work in the last decade has started to engage more substantially with the “Croats and Carolingians” exhibition.³⁶ Hodges’ contribution positions the discussion about the nature of social networks in the Carolingian frontier zone within the broader trans-Adriatic framework. His decade-long exploration of the commerce-networks connecting the the North and Baltic Seas with the Mediterranean provides a broader framework for understading the economic dynamics of economy and trade in the Adriatic in light of Hodges’ views on the transition from gift-giving to market-based economies in the course of the Carolingian era.

Finally, Peter Štih’s chapter, discussing the integration of the eastern Alpine Slavs into the Carolingian imperial networks, stresses the importance

33 Basić 2018; Budak 2018b; Borri 2008a; 2009; 2010a; 2010b.

34 Shepard 2014b. For Jakšić and Milošević, see above.

35 Budak 2018b: 174.

36 Curta 2006b: 134–37; 2010a; 2010b; 2016.

of Christianization and Church administration in overcoming the barriers dividing ethnically diverse populations on the peripheries of the Carolingian empire. Štih's conclusions concerning the importance of conversion to Carolingian Christianity by the local elites to foster their inclusion into the ranks of the Frankish-Bavarian nobility, not only engages with the “Croats and Carolingians” exhibition's stress on the parallel processes in Dalmatia, but also reminds one of the importance of the topic, which did not receive substantial treatment in the present volume.

4 Conclusion

To return once again to the question posed in the subtitle of this paper, how should we approach the “Croats and Carolingians” exhibition – as a prevalent new scholarly paradigm or just an example of applied ideology? To start with, “Croats and Carolingians” – however we may perceive it today – undoubtedly ‘present[s] a landmark project which opened new horizons of research’. While its impact on the Croatian historiography was substantial, it was much less so in the international scholarly arena. It would thus be far-fetched to describe its impact as a ‘triumph’, or even a success. As a short-term project its messages failed to reach a broader scholarly audience – partly due to technical shortcomings, partly due to a series of complex circumstances, practical as well as ideological, surrounding the project. Yet, looking at the project more broadly, the exhibition started to reshape scholarly perceptions of this period. As the critical acceptance of some of its central tenets underlying a series of more recent projects, conferences and publications clearly show, it made substantial impact. Not only have the initial project organizers in the meantime developed their original thoughts, but a ‘next generation’ of Croatian scholars has managed to engage an international scholarly audience through including the critical issues raised by “Croats and Carolingians” in their research.

Thus the decision whether to label the project as ‘ideologically charged’ remains with the reader. As some of the contributions in this volume demonstrated, ideological agendas were certainly there. Yet these agendas were themselves a reaction to earlier readings of the past. This assessment reminded one of the need to try to understand these agendas in the particular context of the political changes in the 1990s. Along these lines, the mentioned context (collapse of Yugoslavia, Croatian accession to EU), producing discourses that stressed Croatia's establishment of ‘full statehood’ and ‘detachment from the Balkans’, undoubtedly influenced the project and largely determined the exhibition's public reception.

However, sympathies and rejection aside, the exhibition, primarily through the display of fascinating material, opened space for new evaluations of the important transformation of the southeastern frontier of the Carolingian Empire. It will take some time before the views from the “Croats and Carolingians” project are properly evaluated and certainly not all of them will or should – in the long run – be accepted. In the meantime, a whole series of recent publications (the present one included) testify to different directions of research which the project has inspired and stimulated. Judging by the visible impact, there is no doubt that “Croats and Carolingians” has marked an important watershed in historiography. Its basic intuitions will undoubtedly continue to influence our understanding of how the Carolingian presence in the Adriatic changed the history of the region. Finally, in light of three main developments detected: revision of the original views from 2000 by the “Croats and Carolingians” ‘crew’, critical acceptance of the “Croats and Carolingians” exhibition’s foundations by the ‘next generation’ and wider engagement of the broader international scholarship, it is perhaps fitting to add that, perhaps not unexpectedly, the same team which organized “Croats and Carolingians” in 2000 is organizing an exhibition “Byzantium and the Eastern Adriatic” in Split in 2018, with the assistance of scholars from the ‘next generation’. The choice of the topic in itself and the way the title was formulated speaks volumes to this eventuation.

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The collection *Migration, Integration and Connectivity on the Southeastern Frontier of the Carolingian Empire* offers insights into the Carolingian southeastern frontier-zone from historical, art-historical and archaeological perspectives.

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